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One hundred abstracts of sociological studies of occupations are collected in this volume, designed primarily as a vocational guidance counseling tool. Taken mainly from journal articles, the studies usually relate to the subtle social characteristics of jobs, such as cultural pressures, role identities, role conflicts, prestige, and differential social situations. The occupations range from janitor to physician and musician to city-manager. The abstract format for each of the studies included: (1) a brief description of the article and its major findings, (2) the author's own abstract (when available), (3) a description of data gathering and treatment methods, (4) methodological cautions to heed when interpreting findings (when relevant), (5) a general statement of theoretical orientation, (6) an indication of scope, whether the article refers to a job or an occupational field, (7) implications for counseling, emphasizing the study's significance in the area of vocational counseling, written by an experienced psychologist (vocational counselor), and (8) the pertinent Dictionary of Occupational Titles classification and code. A subject and an author index are included. (ET)

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ABSTRACTS

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF OCCUPATIONS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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2

Robert P. Overs

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Elizabeth C. Deutsch

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ABSTRACTS OF SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES OF OCCUPATIONS

(Second Edition - 1968)

Occupational sociology, a large area of empirical research, is almost unknown to vocational counselors, and is rarely found in occupational libraries. In contrast to the bulk of occupational information which gives explicit data about job requirements, wages, hours, and conditions of employment, the findings in occupational sociology usually relate to the more subtle characteristics of jobs, such as cultural pressures, role identities and role conflicts, occupational prestige, and differential social situations. These subtle characteristics are frequently of great significance in occupational choice and job satisfaction.

Explanation of the Abstract Format:

In order to facilitate the filing of the abstract, the pertinent D.O.T. (Dictionary of Occupational Titles) classification (third edition), and the code number of the occupation, is given at the very top of the first page. The write-up of these studies begins with a brief "Description" of the article and its major findings. This is followed by a separate paragraph, "Implications for Counseling," emphasizing its significance in the area of vocational counseling, written by an experienced counseling psychologist (vocational counselor).

The next heading, "Scope," refers to the boundary of the occupation covered in the sociological study. It denotes whether the article refers to a job or an occupational field. If the author furnishes an abstract of his own, it is quoted in its full length under the paragraph heading, "Author's Abstract." The paragraph on "Methodology" notes the sources and methods of data gathering. When the particular methodology warrants further comments, an additional paragraph, headed "Cautions," is inserted. The information on the "Theoretical Orientation" is a statement describing the relationship of certain sociological concepts upon which the author bases his study.

Central Sociological Concepts Used in the Analysis of Occupations:

The sociologist engaged in the study of a given occupation generally uses certain sociological concepts, studies their particular pattern and how it affects, for example, the worker's interest, his perspective toward life, his appraisal of self-worth, and his relationships with fellow workers, supervisors, and/or friends.

Some of the central concepts used in the analysis of occupations are the concepts of role, status, mobility, occupational culture, self-consciousness, and organization of work. Note that these terms have specialized, technical meanings.

The concept of role refers to the function or behavior of an individual in a group. This is usually defined by the group or the culture. Often, the work role of the individual may be in conflict with one of the social roles of that person outside the work group, or in the formal role inherent in the position may constrain the individual in the adoption of informal role behavior.

Status is a concept that denotes the position and the prestige associated with the position of a person in his group or the group in the community. It also refers to a position upon an imaginary scale, which that person or group holds in public esteem. The status of the individual or group may be vague in some respects, but it is fairly well defined in others. The concept of status, and its related variants (prestige, esteem), is a frequent source of conflict in interpersonal relations.

Mobility may be either horizontal or vertical. Horizontal mobility is the movement of individuals and groups from one occupational position to another within the same occupational stratum as, for example, a change in occupation from plumbing to carpentry. Vertical mobility is the change from a lower level occupation to a higher level or vice versa. In counseling terms, opportunity for upward vertical mobility is stated as the opportunity for advancement.

The pattern of beliefs, and the modes of thinking and behavior that is characteristic of a given occupation, is encompassed in the concept occupational culture. The pattern is conditioned and determined by the habitual activities and cultural environment of the group. The concept also includes the norms defining the proper way of conduct, and the sanctions that limit activities of group members, as well as the processes by which the novice learns the occupational culture patterns.

The concept of self-consciousness denotes the awareness of one's own existence and characteristics, usually in relationship to other people and/or objects. The pattern may be peculiar to a given occupation. Attention may focus upon the satisfaction of the intellectual and emotional needs of the individual, the achievement of status, and recognition from the group.

Formal and informal organization refers to the hierarchical structure of the work organization, the form of relationships, and the manner of communications that is found within it. One speaks of a formal organization when the form of relationships and direction of communications are spelled out in great detail and strictly adhered to; for example, the automobile assembly line. In contrast, the informal organization indicates the hierarchical levels only, but the nature of relationships and the flow of communications are left to the discretion of the individual employees; e.g., the waitress may carry on a conversation with the patron in a low-standard restaurant.

Areas of Concern:

The sociologist is interested in identifying (1) the conditions in an occupation, (2) the processes of development and change, and (3) their effect upon a particular pattern of behavior in the context of work. His substantive or essential areas of concern may focus on the issues which bring about conflict; for example, the impact of changing technology, conflict between organization and individual interests; conflict between sex roles and occupational roles, conflict between work groups and outside-interest groups, conflict in interpersonal relations. Or, he may deal with the processes by which individuals overcome the pressures of conflict; i.e., methods of dealing with low status, appraisal of self and others, relations between employees and supervisors. Other areas of interest may concern the alienation of the worker as an attendant characteristic of the industrial revolution.

Research Methodology:

The value and the extent of generalization derived from an empirical study is greatly dependent upon the rigors of the research methodology; i.e., the selection of the sample, the methods of data gathering, and the adequacy of the statistical tools.

The majority of the empirical studies in occupational sociology utilize one or more of the following data gathering methods: participant observation, field observation, use of mailed questionnaires, personal interview schedules, and the use of existing records. Each type of method has its attendant weaknesses but, if the sample is large enough and is a representative cross-section of the population to be studied, the findings should be of value.

Acknowledgements:

These abstracts were prepared by Elizabeth C. Deutsch; the implications for counseling were written by Robert P. Overs, Ph.D. The project was carried on in 1964-65 at the Vocational Guidance and Rehabilitation Services, Cleveland, Ohio and was financed through the research program of the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training, United States Department of Labor.

The second edition of the abstracts has been slightly revised and the new (1965) coding from the Dictionary of Occupational Titles has been assigned to those abstracts which had been coded.

Consecutive page numbers have been assigned to the entire series of 100 abstracts and the page numbers are identified in the table of contents and the indexes.

Because the revised edition has been prepared without benefit of a grant there is a fee of $8 per set. Checks should be made payable to the CURATIVE WORKSHOP OF MILWAUKEE, 750 N. 18th St., Milwaukee, Wisc. 53233.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROFESSIONAL, TECHNICAL, AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS

PAGE

MECHANICAL ENGINEERING OCCUPATIONS

007.181 Evan, William M. 17
"On the Margin--The Engineering Technician"

OCCUPATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING, N.E.C.

019.288 Evan, William M. (See: 007.181) 17

OCCUPATIONS IN ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING, N.E.C.
OCCUPATIONS IN GEOLOGY
OCCUPATIONS IN MATHEMATICS AND PHYSICAL SCIENCES, N.E.C.

019.381 Boggs, Stephen T. 21
024.381 "The Values of Laboratory Workers: A Study of Occupational
029.281 Aspirations"
029.381

OCCUPATIONS IN PSYCHOLOGY

Johnson, Bob 25
045.108 "Role Conflict in Rehabilitation Counseling"

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS

070.108 Freidson, Eliot 31
"Client Control and Medical Practice"

Hall, Oswald 35
"The Stages of a Medical Career"

PHARMACISTS

074.181 McCormack, Thelma Herman 41
"The Druggists' Dilemma: Problems of a Marginal Occupation"

REGISTERED NURSES

075.378 Adams, Fred T. (See: 355.878) 221

Corwin, Ronald G. 45
"The Professional Employee: A Study of Conflict in Nursing Roles"

Malone, Mary, Berkowitz, Norman H., and Klein, Malcolm W. 47
"The Paradox in Nursing"

PAGE

Segal, Bernard E. 49
"Male Nurses: A Case Study in Status Contradiction and Prestige Loss"

OCCUPATIONS IN MEDICINE & HEALTH, N.E.C.

079.108 Wardwell, Walter I. 53
"The Reduction of Strain in a Marginal Social Role"

079.128 Buskey, Janet M. 57
"An Exploratory Survey of Occupational Therapy"

OCCUPATIONS IN COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY EDUCATION

090.228 Thompson, Daniel C. 61
"Career Patterns of Teachers in Negro Colleges"

OCCUPATIONS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION
OCCUPATIONS IN PRIMARY SCHOOL AND KINDERGARTEN EDUCATION

091.228 Becker, Howard S. 65
092.228 "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher"

OCCUPATIONS IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, N.E.C.

097.228 Burtner, Frank A. 69
"The 'Vo-Ag' Teacher: An Inquiry into the Status and Role of an Emergent Profession"

LAWYERS

110.108 Wardwell, Walter I., and Wood, Arthur L. 73
110.118 "The Extra-Professional Role of the Lawyer"

CLERGYMAN

120.108 Fulton, Robert L. 77
"The Clergyman and the Funeral Director: A Study in Role Conflict"

Wilson, Bryan R. 79
"The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions"

WRITERS & EDITORS, PUBLICATIONS

132.088 Lewis, Ian (See: 164.068) 121

132.268 Breed, Warren 83
"Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis"

PAGE

COMMERCIAL ARTISTS

141.081 Griff, Mason 87
"The Commercial Artist: A Study in Role Conflict and Career Development"

Lewis, Ian (See: 164.068) 121

OCCUPATIONS IN DRAMATICS

150.048 Wilhelm, Sidney, and Sjoberg, Gideon 91
"The Social Characteristics of Entertainers"

OCCUPATIONS IN MUSIC

152.048 Becker, Howard S. 93
"The Professional Dance Musician and his Audience"

Westby, David L. 97
"The Career Experience of the Symphony Musician"

152.088 Dennison, J. Nash 101
"The Socialization of the Artist: The American Composer"

OCCUPATIONS IN ATHLETICS & SPORTS

153.348 Weinberg, S. Kirson, and Arond, Henry 105
"The Occupational Culture of the Boxer"

PURCHASING MANAGEMENT OCCUPATIONS

162.158 Rachman, David J., and Kemp, Linda J. 111
"Are Buyers Happy in Their Jobs?"

Strauss, George 115
"Work-Flow Frictions, Interfunctional Rivalry and Professionalism: A Case Study of Purchasing Agents"

ADVERTISING MANAGEMENT OCCUPATIONS

164.068 Lewis, Ian 121
"In the Courts of Power--The Advertising Man"

OCCUPATIONS IN ADMINISTRATIVE SPECIALIZATION, N.E.C.

169.188 Krugman, Herbert E. 125
"Salesmen in Conflict: A Challenge to Marketing"

169.228 Evan, William M. (See: 007.181) 17

PAGE

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY MANAGERS & OFFICIALS

183.118 Dalton, Melville 129
"Informal Factors in Career Achievement"

SERVICE INDUSTRY MANAGERS & OFFICIALS

187.118 Gouldner, Alvin W. 133
"Attitudes of 'Progressive' Trade Union Leaders"

Hudson, Ruth Alice 137
"The Social Role of the Shop Steward: A Study in Expectations"

Kornhouser, William 141
"The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control"

Roucek, Joseph S. 145
"Social Attitudes of the Prison Warden"

187.168 Fulton, Robert L. (See: 120.108) 77

Habenstein, Robert 147
"Conflicting Organizational Patterns in Funeral Directing"

PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION MANAGERS & OFFICIALS

188.118 Floro, George K. 151
"Continuity in City-Manager Careers"

RADIO OPERATIORS

193.282 Record, Jane Cassels 155
"The Marine Radioman's Struggle for Status"

AIRLINE PILOTS AND NAVIGATORS

196.283 Wager, Leonard W. 159
"Career Patterns and Role Problems of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline"

CLERICAL & SALES OCCUPATIONS

SECRETARY

201.368 Bryant, Clifton D. 163
"White-Collar Woman: The Secretarial-Stenographic Occupation"

STENOGRAPHERS

202.388 Bryant, Clifton D. (See: 201.368) 163

PAGE

MAIL CARRIERS

233.388 Harper, Dean, and Emmert, Frederick — 167
"Work Behavior in a Service Industry"

SALESMEN

250-289 Silverman, Leslie J. — 171
"The Social Role of the Salesman"

SALESMAN, INSURANCE

250.258 Jonassohn, Kurt — 175
"The Life Insurance Agent: An Occupational Study"

Schwartz, Albert M. — 181
"A Role Analysis of the Insurance Agent in the Community"

Taylor, Miller Lee — 185
"The Life Insurance Man: A Sociological Analysis of the Occupation"

Taylor, Miller Lee, and Pellegrin, Roland J. — 189
"Professionalization: Its Functions and Dysfunctions for the Life Insurance Occupation"

SALESMAN, REAL ESTATE

250.358 Angriest, Shirley S. Bloomst — 191
"Real Estate Salesmen: The Study of a Sales Occupation"

SALESMEN & SALESPERSON, HOUSE FURNISHINGS

274.358 French, Cecil L. — 195
"Correlates of Success in Retail Selling"

SALESMAN, TRANSPORTATION EQUIPMENT

280.358 Miller, Stephen J. — 199
"The Social Base of Sales Behavior"

CANVASSERS & SOLICITORS

293.358 Levitin, T.E. — 203
"Role Performance and Role Distance in a Low Status Occupation: The Puller"

SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

PAGE

MAIDS, DOMESTIC

306.878 Aubert, Vilhelm 207
"The Housemaid: An Occupational Role in Crisis"

Chaplin, David 211
"Domestic Service and the Negro"

FOOD & BEVERAGE PREPARATION & SERVICE OCCUPATIONS

310-319 Whyte, William Foote 215
Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry

ATTENDANTS, HOSPITALS, MORGUES & RELATED HEALTH SERVICES

355.878 Adams, Fred Thomas 221
"Role Accomodations: A Study of Nurses and Attendants in a Mental Hospital"

Melbin, Murray 227
"Organization Practice and Individual Behavior: Absenteeism Among Psychiatric Aides"

Rubington, Erwin 231
"The Psychiatric Aide"

GUARDS & WATCHMEN, EXCEPT CROSSING WATCHMEN

372.868 Lundberg, Donald E. 237
"Some Aspects of the Job of Prison Guard"

Sykes, Gresham M. 241
"The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation"

FIREMAN, FIRE DEPARTMENT

373.884 Matthews, Thomas James 245
"The Urban Fire Station: A Sociological Analysis of an Occupation"

POLICEMEN & DETECTIVES, PUBLIC SERVICE SHERIFFS & BALIFFS

375.000 thru 375.868 377.868 Westley, William A. 251
"Violence and Police"

PAGE

375.268 Cumming, Elaine, Cumming, Ian, and Edell, Laura — 255
"Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend"

SOLDIERS, SAILORS, MARINES, AIRMEN &
COAST GUARDSMEN, N.E.C.

378.999 Zurcher, Louis A., Jr. — 259
"The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution"

JANITORS

382.884 Gold, Ray — 265
"Janitors versus Tenants: A Status-Income Dilemma"

MACHINE TRADES OCCUPATIONS

METAL MACHINING OCCUPATIONS, METALWORKING
OCCUPATIONS N.E.C.
MECHANICS & MACHINERY REPAIRMEN

600-639 Chinoy, Ely — 269
"The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers"

Faunce, W.A. — 271
"Automation and the Automobile Worker"

Guest, Robert H. — 275
"Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers"

Pope, Hallowell — 277
"Economic Deprivation and Social Participation in a Group of 'Middle Class' Factory Workers"

Walker, Charles R., and Guest, Robert H. — 279
The Man on the Assembly Line

TYPESETTERS & COMPOSERS

650.582 Goldstein, David et al. (See: 973.381) — 367

TEXTILE OCCUPATIONS

680-689 Lalli, Michael — 283
"Industrial Relocation of Displaced Male Factory Workers: Some Sociological Implications"

PAGE

689.782 Huganir, George H., Jr. 289
"The Hosiery Looper in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Family Occupational Processes and Adaptation to Factory and Community Change"

BENCH WORK OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATIONS IN FABRICATION & REPAIR OF WATCHES, CLOCKS & PARTS

715.281 Strodtbeck, Fred L., and Sussman, Marvin B. 297
"Of Time, the City, and the 'One-Year Guaranty': The Relations Between Watch Owners and Repairers"

STRUCTURAL WORK OCCUPATIONS

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS, N.E.C.

860-869 Denton, Alfred M., Jr. 301
"Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers"

Myers, Richard R. 307
"Interpersonal Relations in the Building Industry"

PLUMBERS, GAS FITTERS, STEAM FITTERS & RELATED OCCUPATIONS

862.381 Moss, Leonard W. 313
"The Master Plumber in Detroit: A Study in Role Adjustment and Structural Adaptation in a Handicraft Occupation Undergoing Technological Change"

MISCELLANEOUS STRUCTURAL WORK OCCUPATIONS, N.E.C.

899.884 Graves, Bennie 321
" 'Breaking Out': An Apprenticeship System Among Pipeline Construction Workers"

MISCELLANEOUS OCCUPATIONS

RAILROAD TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS

910 Cottrell, Fred W. 325
"Of Time and the Railroader"

Cottrell, Fred W. 329
"Social Groupings of Railroad Employees"

Rodnick, David 333
"Status Values among Railroadmen"

PAGE

PASSENGER TRANSPORTATION OCCUPATIONS, N.E.C.

913.463 Davis, Fred 337
"The Cabdriver and His Fare: Facets of a Fleeting Relationship"

Miles, Herbert J. 341
"The Taxicab Driver"

Morris, Charles N. 345
"A Digest of Some Characteristics of Occupational Choice and Adjustment in a Sample of New York Taxi Drivers"

Vaz, Edmund W. 351
"The Metropolitan Taxi Driver: His Work and Self-Conception"

PACKAGING OCCUPATIONS

920.887 Goldstein, David H., et al. (See: 973.381) 367

BORING, DRILLING, CUTTING, & RELATED OCCUPATIONS

930-939 Laing, J.T. 359
"The Negro Miner in West Virginia"

TIMBER CUTTING & RELATED OCCUPATIONS

940-949 Hayner, H.S. 363
"Taming the Lumberjack"

HAND COMPOSITORS, TYPESETTERS, & RELATED OCCUPATIONS

973.381 Goldstein, David H., M.D., and Hulsart, C. Raymond 367
"Automation: A Clinical Study"

UNCLASSIFIED

PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS UNCLASSIFIED

Coates, Charles H., and Pellegrin, Roland J. 371
"Executives and Supervisors: Contrasting Self-Conceptions and Conceptions of Each Other"

Hubbard, Harold G. 373
"The Career Business Executive as a Definitive Occupational Type"

Katz, Fred E. 377
"Occupational Contact Networks"

PAGE

Reif, Fred 379
"The Impact of Rapid Discovery upon the Scientist's Career"

ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS (STATE & FEDERAL)

UNCLASSIFIED

Mitchell, William C. 385
"Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official"

CIVIL SERVICE: FEDERAL SERVICE

UNCLASSIFIED

Kilpatrick, Franklin P., et al. 391
Source Book of a Study of Occupational Values and the Image of the Federal Service

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: OFFICE WORK

UNCLASSIFIED

Hoos, Ida R. 399
"Automation in the Office: A Sociological Survey of Occupational and Organizational Changes"

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: FOREMEN

UNCLASSIFIED

Wray, Donald E. 405
"Marginal Men of Industry: The Foremen"

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURE

UNCLASSIFIED

Bensman, Joseph, and Gerver, Israel 409
"Crime and Punishment in the Factory"

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: SHIP AND BOAT BUILDING

UNCLASSIFIED

Archibald, Katherine 413
"Status Orientations Among Shipyard Workers"

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION

UNCLASSIFIED

Mann, Floyd C., and Hoffman, Richard L. 415
Automation and the Worker, A Study of Social Change in Power Plants

PAGE

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: OCCUPATIONS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF STEEL

UNCLASSIFIED

Singleton, James W. 417
"Meanings of Work and Attitudes Toward Retirement Among Steelworkers"

TELEPHONE INDUSTRY

UNCLASSIFIED

Seidman, Joel, et al. 421
"Telephone Workers"

FACTORY WORKERS

UNCLASSIFIED

Lebeaux, Charles N. 425
"Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers"

INDUSTRIAL

UNCLASSIFIED

Killian, Lewis M. 429
"The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants"

Steele, H. 433
"Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies"

Wilson, Logan, and Gilmore, Harland 435
"White Employers and Negro Workers"

LABORATORY TECHNICIANS AND ASSISTANTS D.O.T. Code: 007.181
TECHNICIANS, EXCEPT LABORATORY 019.228
SPECIFICATION WRITERS, PLANNERS, AND ESTIMATORS

SYSTEMS ENGINEER

ABSTRACT

Evan, William M. "On the Margin--The Engineering Technician," in The Human Shape of Work, ed. Peter L. Berger. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1964, pp. 83-112.

Description:

The role and qualifications of the engineering technician are ambiguous in American society. There are a variety of educational and vocational routes to membership in this occupation. The engineering technician does a wide variety of work ranging from drafting, design, and development of products, on the one hand, to estimating costs, selling, and advising customers on the use of engineering and scientific equipment, on the other. Some engineering technicians are doing work which engineers did twenty-five years ago, while others are doing work which is indistinguishable from that done by present-day engineers. The majority of technicians have probably received their training in on-the-job training programs. A minority have had formal education in university evening extension courses or have attended a two-year technical institute or junior college. In addition to great variations in educational and occupational activities, there are extensive variations in income and job titles in this occupation. This variability may lead to uncertainty on the part of engineering technicians as to how they differ from the skilled worker or the engineer. Some may view themselves as production workers while others may see themselves as "junior engineers."

The engineering technician may work with people who are primarily of lower or of higer occupational prestige than himself. He may, consequently, develop feelings of relative gratification or relative deprivation because of the gap between his status and the status of those with whom he works. Many engineering technicians use the professional engineering group as their reference group.

How does the engineering technician deal with these built-in role strains (i.e., felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations)? There are several modes of adaptation available to him. Among them are the following:

1. "Job hopping"- seeking an employer who will give him an opportunity to become an engineer despite his lack of formal qualification.

2. Intrinsic work satisfaction - seeking a setting which offers intrinsic work satisfaction and possibly offers other benefits such as access to expensive and prestige conferring equipment.

3. Equilibrated relative status profile - seeking a situation where the engineer with whom a technician is associated is informally higher on all significant status factors. In this situation, the technician will tend to legitimize occupational differences and develop a cooperative relationship.

4. Unionization - seeking to improve working conditions by joining a union

of technicians.

5. Transvaluation of work values - seeking alternative work values such as job security or managerial authority.

6. Engineering degree - seeking an engineering degree, even if it means long years of part-time evening courses.

All of the foregoing modes of adaptation represent an effort on the part of the engineering technician to reduce or eliminate the tensions resulting from a high degree of status incongruence in his occupation. Status incongruence exists when a person has a status profile which is inconsistent---with some rankings being high and others being low.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors engaged in counseling adults in an urban area may expect to see many engineering technicians concerned with vertical mobility problems. Because of the frequent lack of clear-cut distinction between their duties and the duties of the graduate engineers with whom they work, engineering technicians see the occupation, engineer, as their goal. They are blocked from achieving such a goal by the high requirements of the academic program leading to the status of graduate engineer.

Technicians frequently seek help from counselors about whether they have the academic aptitude to pursue a college engineering program and how to most effectively handle a night school program leading to this goal. They also come for help when personal or family illness and other unavoidable responsibilities or problems result in their failure of a course or two after they have been attending night school for a period of time. They seek reassurance that this is the right goal for them, and that they have the basic academic ability.

The development of the two-year technical institute has added to the frustration of the technician. Graduates of these institutes tend to see themselves as prepared to enter a four-year engineering program with advanced credit. In the ordinary course of events, only half of the two-year institute credits will be accepted toward this goal, a situation which leads the individual to feel that he should have been better advised before he initiated his academic career.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Library research was the main data-collecting method employed. A number of studies and documents relating to the engineering technician were used as references.

Cautions:

Although well-documented, much of this article was based on the speculations of the author.

Theoretical Orientation:

In a changing industrial society, there are likely to be rapid changes in the occupational structure. These result in marginal role occupations. A marginal role is one which is imperfectly institutionalized, which means that there is some ambiguity in the pattern of behavior expected of the person filling the role. This ambiguity, in the case of the engineering technician, is reflected in varying (1) definitions of the nature of the work, (2) conceptions of educational and training requirements, (3) rates of compensation, etc. These variations result in role strain and consequent attempts to adapt to it.

LABORATORY ASSISTANTS ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 019.381
024.381
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Boggs, Stephen T. "The Values of Laboratory Workers: A Study of Occupational Aspirations," Human Organization, Vol. XXII, No. 3 (Fall, 1963), pp. 209-217.

Description:

This study sought to explore the meaning of certain values related to the concepts of work and job in contemporary American culture. In order to discover how much importance is attached to the value of success in an occupation, this case study investigated the emphasis placed upon the concept of advancement and the problem that is raised when advancement appears to be unobtainable.

The study took place in a governmental research organization employing college-trained professionals and technicians. In many instances, the work of the two classes of employees overlapped.

Findings: The evidence of this study indicated the professional assistants and technicians in the setting of the research organization keep emphasizing the importance of advancement even though, in reality, they are denied the opportunity. Interestingly, "when promotion is seen to be impossible, the tendency is quite clearly to regard advancement, in the sense of performing higher status work, as the most important feature of the job." Professional assistants, especially, show such a tendency.

An explanation for this attitude may be found in the social setting. Professional assistants and laboratory workers work in close association with scientists who enjoy higher status than they do both within the organization and in society. Scientists symbolize the value of scientific discovery. The assistants tend to identify with and emulate those values which the scientist represents. The intimate work association with scientists, however, also reveals the status distinctions between the scientist and the laboratory assistant. The assistant is conscious of the fact that he is not sent to meetings at organizational expense, that he is not introduced to visitors in the laboratory, and, of course, there are the differences in pay.

When status differences appear to have become permanent, the assistants either reassert their aspirations for higher status—thus placing advancement above all—or leave.

Technicians see advancement in a different light than do the professional assistants. They find their main satisfaction in the security and pay which the job offers. They expect and want to do routine work. Their advancement is symbolized by a pay increase rather than by the status the work provides.

It appeared that men of middle class background were likely to attach more importance to their jobs and careers until they were denied promotion than were men from a working class background. Evidence from other studies is consistent with this finding.

In the course of the study, when emphasis upon advancement was questioned, no consistent pattern of class differences appeared. Technicians, who come primarily from working class background, emphasized advancement less often than the assistants, who usually come from middle-class homes. It should be noted that assistants probably are more likely to find opportunities elsewhere than are laboratory technicians.

When technicians and professional assistants were actually denied promotion within the organization, both groups emphasized advancement on the job regardless of their social class origin. This last point is at variance with the findings of some sociological studies. These other studies equate advancement with "risk-taking" and ignore the part played by opportunity. (See: Weiss, Robert S., and Kohn, Robert L. "Definitions of Work and Occupations," Social Problems, Vol. VIII (Fall, 1960).)

Conclusions: The results of this study propose that all classes in our society with the possible exception of the lowest class, value advancement. Explicit emphasis upon advancement, however, will vary with the nature of the opportunity available. In a large scale organization, advancement inevitably brings greater responsibility, recognition, freedom, different kinds of work, and job security. Men are free to emphasize advancement in relation to any one of these areas, no matter what values they hold. As Ely Chinoy has succinctly pointed out in his study of automobile workers, even under conditions of extremely limited opportunity

> workers apply to the ends they pursue the vocabulary of the tradition of opportunity. They extend the meaning of ambition and advancement to include the search for security, the pursuit of small goals in the factory....Workers do not see security... as an alternative for advancement. [As one man summed it up:] If you're secure, then you're getting ahead. (Automobile Workers and the American Dream. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1955, pp. 124-125.)

Implications for Counseling:

Many clients seek vocational counseling specifically because they are frustrated by the lack of advancement opportunity. It is well for counselors to know the structural barriers to advancement so that they may differentiate both for themselves and for clients whether lack of advancement is due to structural barriers or to inadequacies in the client. Solutions to each of these two problems would be quite different.

Roadblocks to advancement need to be pointed out by counselors when clients are making educational and occupational choices. Powerful publicity sometimes seduces prospective students into blind-alley occupations which have ceilings on advancement. For instance, some two-year technical institutes, in their zeal to build strong programs and attract good students, have enrolled students in their technical programs who are on a higher level than some who are to be found in some four-year college degree programs. Although the student in a two-year mechanical technology course may not be superior to the student in a four-year mechanical engineering college program, he may well be superior to the student found in a four-year industrial arts curriculum or a four-year business curriculum in the same city. Because some of these two-year students have the ability to eventually perform at a higher level than that of the technician, they may feel frustrated when they become aware of the advancement ceiling.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

One hundred and eighty-four male, professional assistants and technicians, who were over thirty years of age, working in a large governmental research organization, who did not have Ph.D. degrees or work applied toward them, were the subjects for this study. The data was obtained through questionnaires and depth-interview methods.

Cautions:

Note that this study was confined to a sample that worked in a unique organizational environment (i.e., under civil service regulations). Technicians and professional assistants employed elsewhere may have different views regarding their chances for advancement.

COUNSELOR II,
REHABILITATION **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 045.108

Johnson, Bob. "Role Conflict in Rehabilitation Counseling." Unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1961.*

Description:

The present study investigated the differences in the manner by which the role of the rehabilitation counselor was perceived by a group of rehabilitation counselors and by a group of student clients.

Procedure:

The literature pertaining to the role of the rehabilitation counselor was reviewed. This search suggested that the counselor's role may be separated into four parts: (1) counseling, (2) coordinating, (3) socio-economic and academic status, and (4) personality. Counseling and coordinating denote the activities associated with the role; the last two refer to the counselor's characteristics as a person.

It was hypothesized that differential perceptions regarding the counselor's role (or any one of the component parts) would create conflict and would eventually hinder the ultimate rehabilitation of the disabled client.

Differences in perceiving the role of the rehabilitation counselor (i.e., role conflict) were measured by four summated rating scales. Scale A rated the rehabilitation counselor as a "counselor"; Scale B rated the rehabilitation counselor as a "coordinator"; Scale C rated the rehabilitation counselor in terms of socio-economic and academic status; and Scale D rated the rehabilitation counselor in terms of personality, mannerisms, cleanliness and dress. Each scale measuring the particular component of the role was made up from statements culled from the literature or was given by individuals professionally associated with rehabilitation counseling. Fifty-two statements were selected by this method, the examples of which are given in Appendix A.

The two groups of subjects were asked to rate the statements from the following points of view: (1) actual perception, i.e., the way in which the respondents actually perceived the rehabilitation counselor's role; (2) ideal perception, i.e., the way in which respondents thought the ideal rehabilitation counselor role should be enacted; (3) actual cognition, i.e., the way the respondents _thought_ the average person in the opposite sample group perceived the rehabilitation counselor's role; and (4) ideal cognition, i.e., the manner in which the respondents _thought_ the average person in the opposite sample group conceptualized the ideal rehabilitation counselor's role.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

To determine whether role conflict was present, the mean scores were statistically tested for significant differences among and within the two groups. Significant differences between actual and ideal perceptions within each group, and those between counselors and students were interpreted as role conflicts.

Conclusions:

Scale A - The Rehabilitation Counselor as a "Counselor": It was found that the two groups differed significantly in their perception of the rehabilitation counselor as a "counselor". "There were role conflicts within and among the rehabilitation counselors and their clients, and both groups were aware of these conflicts." Clients and counselors agreed on the concept of the "ideal rehabilitation counselor." Each group seemed to know this fact. They also knew, however, that in practice the "less-than-ideal-role" was maintained. The author proposed that "further studies are needed to determine why the rehabilitation counselors have continued their present 'counselor' role when both they and their clients agree that it is not the role most desired by both groups."

It was hypothesized that counselors may be limited (1) by "lack of time for performing the 'counselor's' role; (2) by a lack of adequate training as 'counselors'; (3) by the prevailing attitude of supervisory personnel who do not believe that 'counseling' is a necessary component of the rehabilitation counselor's role; and (4) by the rehabilitation counselor's own attitudes about 'counseling' the disabled client." Perhaps, if the rehabilitation counselor were to have more knowledge about the psychological problems that accompany disability, fewer areas of role conflict would be apparent, and the outcome of rehabilitation counseling would be more satisfying to both clients and counselors.

Scale B - The Rehabilitation Counselor as a "Coordinator": Neither of the groups perceived the rehabilitation counselor as maintaining the ideal role of the "coordinator." The groups agreed that the "coordinator" component of the role was necessary, but not in the manner in which it was conceived of by the counselors. It appeared that clients did not seem to understand fully the rehabilitation counselor's position as coordinator.

It was hypothesized that counselors fail to realize "that it is of considerable importance for them to 'educate' the client as to what is expected of both counselor and client." Without such "education," the client forms his own expectations, and if they are not realized, he may become resentful, belligerent and/or withdrawn.

Scale C - The Rehabilitation Counselor in Terms of Socio-Economic and Academic Status:

Both rehabilitation counselors and their clients differed significantly in their perception of the counselor's socio-economic and academic status. Each group believed that the role was far from ideal. Both groups agreed on the concept of the ideal role in terms of socio-economic and academic status. They failed to realize, however, that they were in agreement with each other.

From these results it was hypothesized that the counselors expected their clients' perception of the "ideal" to be lower than their own conceptions. It appeared that the clients of this study desired a counselor who was well-trained, of better than average socio-economic status, and able to understand their psychological problems.

Scale D - The Rehabilitation Counselor in Terms of Personality Characteristics:

"Neither group seemed to know what the opposite group believed to be an 'ideal' rehabilitation counselor personality." The two groups, however, agreed in their views regarding an ideal counselor 'personality'.

It was hypothesized that certain stereotype images regarding the personality of the counselor exist, and these were called forth when the respondents answered to items on this scale. Further studies are needed to determine the influence of 'personalities' upon the success of rehabilitation counseling.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is helpful to counselors in understanding their own activities as well as in counseling prospective students for the profession. These empirical findings support the view that counselors frequently are not attuned to the perceptions which clients hold of them. Thus, early discussion of such a disparity would be in order since one of the first steps in counseling is to dissipate anxiety and possible hostility about the counselor's role. The findings in this field study are helpful in anticipating the problem and ways of handling it.

In his capacity as a coordinator, the counselor might say something to this effect when first meeting the client:

> You may expect me to do more for you than I actually will or can. Sometimes, I can not get other people (employers, school officials, etc.) to cooperate in getting you what you want. Agency rules frequently get in the way. Sometimes, when I get busy, I just can not find the time to get everything done for all the people I am trying to help. When I get bogged down like this, I'm sure that you will be very angry with me, and this is normal. However, I have helped many clients in the past and I will do everything I can to help you.

In respect to his counseling role, the counselor's warmth of feeling for the client must be really felt and, in most instances, expressed through positive action; but he would do well to also verbalize it from time to time. The counselor might say--particularly at the end of the first interview:

> I like you and I'm glad you came in to work with me. I think there are a lot of things we can accomplish to help you get the things you want.

In discussing counseling as a career, the counselor will find it easy to make the coordinating role clear; he will have difficulty however, in making the counseling aspect of the role understandable. A true understanding of the counseling role is only possible through extended learning experiences which require feeling as well as intellectual comprehension.

It should be emphasized that both roles are vital to success in the rehabilitation process, although the emphasis will vary according to the needs of the client. As a general rule, sloppy, inefficient execution of the coordinator's role will not compensate for the best of counseling relationships. On the other hand, if clients have emotional problems (as they usually do), good case coordination, alone, will not be sufficient to accomplish lasting results.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Twenty-eight counselors, employed by the Missouri Division of Vocational Rehabilitation, and 161 of the counselors' clients were given a summated rating type instrument to measure differences in the manner in which the rehabilitation counselor's role was perceived. The client group was composed of students with various disabilities who were attending colleges and universities in Missouri with the financial assistance of the state vocational rehabilitation fund.

Cautions:

It is not known whether the findings of this research can be generalized beyond the sample and situation of this study. Vocational rehabilitation clients pursuing college level training are a highly specialized group, quite different from the general population of disabled clients.

Theoretical Orientation:

The basic assumption underlying the orientation of this research was as follows: "Role conflicts have been found to create barriers to satisfactory interaction between people. Because rehabilitation counseling has as its core the development of a warm, accepting client-counselor relationship, anything that impedes this interaction also hinders the ultimate rehabilitation of the disabled client." Role conflict, for the purposes of this study was defined as: "Differences in perceiving the role of the rehabilitation counselor, both within and between the two groups of subjects, ..." (i.e., counselors and student clients).

APPENDIX A

Examples of Statements Contained in the Scales

Scale A The Rehabilition Counselor as a "Counselor"

1. The Rehabilitation Counselor takes time to fully explain test scores earned by the client on tests given by the counselor.

2. The Rehabilitation Counselor uses graphs, profiles, or charts to help the client understand tests and why they are used in rehabilitation counseling.

Scale B The Rehabilitation Counselor as a "Coordinator"

1. The Rehabilitation Counselor helps the client obtain money in an emergency.

2. The Rehabilitation Counselor gets transportation for the client to and from college.

Scale C The Rehabilitation Counselor in Terms of Socio-Economic and Academic Status

1. The Rehabilitation Counselor makes about as much money as the average school teacher.

2. The Rehabilitation Counselor makes about as much money as a mail carrier.

Scale D The Rehabilitation Counselor in Terms of Personality Characteristics

1. The Rehabilitation Counselor is firendly and easy to get to know.

2. The Rehabilitation Counselor has a lot of common sense.

PHYSICIANS AND SURGEONS **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 070.108

Freidson, Eliot. "Client Control and Medical Practice," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXV (January, 1960), pp. 374-382.

Description:

This paper attempted first to classify medical practice according to cultural variations in (a) the concept and definition of illness as viewed by society at large and the medical doctor, and (b) the manner by which the patient is persuaded to see the physician. Second, by utilizing the notion of patient control (i.e., the patient is "free" to choose his own doctor), medical practice in the United States is again classified according to the extent to which the patient is free to choose his physician.

The writings of Carr-Saunders, Parsons, Merton, Hall, and others describe the medical practitioner as one whose practice is determined mainly by his relationship to colleagues, professional organizations, and institutions. This is not entirely so. Medical practice cannot exist without patients. Since patients do have some degree of freedom in choosing their physician, and since the status and the income of the doctor is substantially affected by the evaluation of the patients, the latter do exert some control over the practice of medicine.

The doctor appraises his medical practice according to standards set forth by his colleagues and the "professional community." The patient, on the other hand, evaluates medical practice according to standards set forth by his particular culture and norms of his community. Frequently, both the doctor and patient have different expectations of the medical profession.

An examination of the referral process (i.e., the chain of events that leads the patient to realize that he is ill and needs expert advice) suggests that medical practice can be classified according to variations in the referral process. Typically, it is assumed that the person in need of medical attention first discusses his symptoms informally with his family and intimate friends. If the symptoms persist despite home remedies, after discussions with successively more select, distant, and authoritative laymen, he will finally seek the attention of the professional. This network of consultants (i.e., family, friends, etc.) together with their cultural beliefs about the course and treatment of illness constitute the so-called "lay referral system." The lay referral system may vary from one community to another. These lay referral systems can be classified, however, on the basis of the "degree of congruence between the culture of the clientele and that of the profession, and the relative number of lay consultants who are interposed between the first perception of symptoms and the decision to see a professional." Of the four possible variations, two types of referral systems are of importance with respect to medical practice. These are: (1) the system in which there is a wide gap between the culture of the clients and that of the professionals, and where there are a large number of consultants; and (2) the system in which the culture of the client and that of the professional are similar and where the number of consultants may be few or none at all.

In communities where the first type of referral system operates (usually primitive societies), it is expected that people will be resistant to using medical services. Diagnostic authority is usually granted to the person by heredity or divine "gift." Professional authority is unlikely to be recognized at all. The cultural definition of illness in such communities often contradicts that of the professional culture. The referral process often involves the folk practitioner rather than the professional. Services of the latter are used in case of minor illnesses only, or an illness considered critical. Even then, he may be "called only by the socially isolated deviate and by the sick man snatching at straws."

Where the cultural expectations of clients and doctors are alike, the lay referral system may be minimal. "The prospective client is pretty much on his own, guided more or less by cultural understandings and his own experience, with few lay consultants to support or discourage his search for help."

In the United States, the type of lay referral system used by members of the lower class resembles the first one. Members of the professional class use the second type. If one pictures these polar types of referral systems on a continuum, the remaining classes comprise the middle range.

The concept of lay referral system not only provides knowledge about the patient's behavior but also serves to illuminate the ways in which the client is routed to the appropriate medical practitioner.

In any given community, there are two distinct types of referral systems. One is the lay referral system mentioned earlier, the other one is the "professional" referral system. The latter refers to the "network of relationships with colleagues that often extends beyond the local community and tends to converge upon professionally controlled organizations such as hospitals and medical schools." The professional prestige and power that stems from the physician's affiliation with these institutions tend to diminish with distance from them. The professional referral system limits the patient's control over the physician. The process by which these referral systems operate can be described as follows.

The patient, when he first feels ill, thinks that he is competent to determine whether he is actually sick or not. Failure of his initial prescriptions leads him to the lay consultants who (i.e., friends, etc.) and then ultimately to a professional. If the physician cannot handle the patient's problem, then it becomes the physician's function, not that of the lay consultants or patient, to refer the patient to another practitioner. This is the point where the professional referral system enters into the patient-doctor relationship. "Choice, and therefore positive control, is now taken out of the hands of the client and comes to rest in the hands of the practitioner, and the use of professional services is no longer predicted on the clients's lay understandings--indeed the client may be given services for which he did not ask, whose rationale is beyond him."

The physician's position in the process of referrals affects the evaluation of his performance. If he is the first person contacted by the lay referral structure, and if he sends the case no further, then he is subjected only to the lay evaluation of his patient and lay consultants. But, if he refers the case to another practitioner, then additionally, his professional behavior becomes subject to the evaluation of the consultant. In turn, when the patient leaves the consultant, he often passes back the evaluation of the consultant to the referring practitioner.

Thus, the physician whose practice consists of patients referred by colleagues is almost always subject to the evaluation and control of his colleagues; while the practitioner who attracts the patients himself and need not refer them to others is subject primarily to the evaluation and control of the patient.

On the basis of control and evaluation--whether it is in the hands of the lay referral system or in the hands of the practitioner--there are two extreme types of medical practice. "At one extreme is the practice that can operate independently of colleagues, its existence predicated on attracting its own lay clientele." Such an "independent practice" must offer services for which the need is recognized by the lay referral system. The practitioner having such a practice, if he intends to survive without the assistance of colleagues, must be located within a lay referral system. He is unable to avoid the clients' control, but he is able to avoid the control of his colleagues.

The dependent practice, in contrast, serves the needs of other practitioners,either individual or organizational. The clients do not choose the service involved. It is the professional colleague or an organization which decides that the patient needs such services. Results of consultation, in many instances, are told to colleagues or the organization alone. To survive without a self-selected clientele, such a practice must be in a professional referral system where clients are so helpless that they can not disagree with merely being transmitted.

Pictured on a continuum, the independent neighborhood or village practice is close to the independent practice pole in the United States. Moving toward the position of dependent practice is the so-called "colleague practice." This type of practice is usually the specialized practice that is closely connected with service institutions and with a small group of elites comprising the "inner fraternity" of the profession. The location of this type of practice is usually outside of particular neighborhoods or villages, thus minimizing control by the clients. Closest to the dependent practice pole is the type of medical practice which overlaps somewhat with the "colleague practice," the so-called "organizational practice." This type is found in hospitals, clinics, and other professional bureaucracies. Here the practice is dependent upon organizational support and equipment. The client's control is minimal, more likely to be in the form of evasion. Events of the referral process are likely to be systematically recorded and scrutinized. The medical practitioner, in such instances, is highly vulnerable to his colleagues evaluation, and he is the least influenced by the patient's expectations.

Implications for Counseling:

This article has important implications for counseling practice. Referrals to counselors may be examined in terms of the framework within which referrals to physicians were found to occur. Is there a lay referral system and a professional referral system operating in counseling? Who evaluates the counselor's work in each system? How do client controls vary under the two systems? How do counseling reports operate to strengthen control by supervisors and colleagues? How do they weaken the control by clients? What techniques do counselors use to lessen the control over them via the case counseling report?

Scope: Occupational Field

Author's Abstract:

"The interaction among colleague, practitioner, and patient is analyzed as a function of variable location in two sometimes conflicting systems--the lay referral system, which consists in a variable lay culture and a network of personal influence along which the patient travels on his way to the physician, and the professional referral system of medical culture and institutions. Two analytically extreme types of practice are distinguished on the basis of their location in each of these systems. Independent practice is located in the lay referral system and is primarily subject to client controls. Dependent practice is located well within the professional referral system and is primarily subject to colleague controls."

Methodology:

The author's personal knowledge of the medical field and pertinent literature furnished the information for this study.

Cautions:

This article is based upon the author's interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

This article emphasizes the idea that variations in the culture with respect to illness and the channeling of patients for medical care, and in the location of medical practice in the community is decisive (1) in introducing and sustaining a medical practice, and (2) in the technical and interpersonal modes of procedure in an established practice.

PHYSICIAN (Medical Ser.)   ABSTRACT   D.O.T. Code: 070.108

Hall, Oswald. "The Stages of a Medical Career," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIII (March, 1948), pp. 327-336.

Description:

The members of the medical profession depend to a great extent on a set of formal institutions and informal organizations. "The medical career may be conceived as a set of more or less successful adjustments to these institutions and the formal and informal organizations." Four stages can be distinguished in the adjustment process. These are: (1) generating ambition; (2) gaining admission to the various institutions; (3) acquiring clientele; and (4) developing relationships with colleagues.

I. Generating Ambition:

The medical career, because of its long periods of training and probation, requires a great deal of ambition. One function of ambition is to discipline the conduct of the recruit in the interest of future goals.

Ambition originates in the social setting. The social group nourishes and constantly redefines and redirects its development. Frequently the family or friends envision a medical career for a person and give encouragement and help to him in attaining it.

Professional families seem to possess the attributes that generate and sustain medical ambition. In contrast, families of non-professional background may generate ambition in the person, but they lack the means with which to implement the recruit's ambition.

II. Gaining Admission to the Various Institutions:

Medical services are provided in a variety of institutions: hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, laboratories, doctors' offices, etc. Only the hospital is considered here, since the relationships with the hospital are the most crucial factors in the career development process.

Within the hospital setting, doctors occupy a variety of positions. These positions form a hierarchical pattern. Progress through the various levels symbolizes achievement in one's career. Each position confers certain rewards on the doctor. "The number and variety of these rewards function to keep a large staff reasonably satisfied by providing neat packages of advancement at relatively short intervals."

Within each of the hospital's medical departments, there is competition. The intensity of this competition is mitigated by authority relationships and the code of ethics of the profession. The rigid specialization of the various departments practically precludes competition among them. There is, however, a jealous struggle for prestige among the different medical specialities.

Within a given community, even the hospitals form a status hierarchy. At the top of this hierarchy are the Yankee Protestant hospitals; these have the most adequate facilities. Next are the hospitals organized by the Catholics. Those established by Jewish groups or by medical sects have the least adequate facilities and occupy the lowest ranks. The prestige rating of hospitals corresponds to the ranking just described.

The hospital in which one starts his career---the internship---becomes a distinctive "badge;" it becomes one of the most enduring criteria in the evaluation of the person's status. Hospitals not only confer status upon the doctors; they also serve as channels through which one can move to the next level.

The hospitals which are organized along the lines of the various religious affiliations are also differentiated in terms of social class and ethnic characteristics. Some of the interview responses clearly revealed this trend. Upper class Yankee boys would attend the Harvard Medical school and then would intern at the dominant Yankee hospital. The Italian youngster would be aided by the Catholic hospitals and institutions toward the realization of his career goals. In his case, these institutions would also serve as a shelter in protecting him from unduly severe competition.

Finally, hospitals serve as a sifting device by which the status of the various doctors in the community are established. This is illustrated by the influence of hospital appointments upon individual practice. Successful medical practice leads to advancement in the hospital hierarchy and thereby enhances the practitioner's status among colleagues. The doctor's new position is likely to improve his relations with other doctors which, in turn, results in increased practice; i.e., other doctors will recommend patients to him.

Hospital appointments are not made on the basis of technical superiority. Rather, the criterion is "technical proficiency." Beyond that level of competency, the individual's personality traits play a significant role. Evaluation of the prospective appointee is made on the basis of whether his traits fit in with the hospital's distinctive policies and unique historical character.

III. Acquiring a Clientele:

Acquiring a clientele is viewed as a business proposition. The doctor must adopt a particular type of strategy by which to attract and retain the desirable patient, but he must "discourage those who do not fit well into the pattern of his practice." Medical practice operates in a competitive milieu. The freedom of choice on the part of the patient "requires the doctor to exercise constant vigilance or see his patients gravitate to competitors with more power of attraction."

Career-wise, the specialized practice is considered to be the most successful type of practice. The specialist not only enjoys higher income but superior status as well. Two factors bear heavily on the development of a specialized practice.

(1) "A specialized practice cannot be achieved without the active assistance of colleagues. These must refer cases to the specialist, and he must have some

corresponding way of repaying them for their favors." (2) The specialized practice requires access to hospital facilities; much of it is a hospital practice. Hospital connections provide the opportunities for the development of referral relationships between doctors.

Although medical practice takes place in a competitive setting, "this competition is never of the cutthroat variety." In part, it is controlled by the profession's code of ethics. In a community where practitioners themselves are well organized, however, the code is practically superseded "by a set of expectations and understandings deeply imbedded in the personalities of the doctors concerned. These understandings may go so far as to control the entry of new practitioners into the community, allocate them to posts in the various medical institutions, and incorporate them into the established office practices."

The interview data revealed the existence of four general patterns by which individual practitioners may launch their specialized careers. First, the practitioner may go into a community where he "sticks it out," i.e., slowly works at breaking into the local situation. Second, the novice may be helped by an older colleague. One respondent described this situation as follows:

> When a person gets up to a position like mine there are a lot of kinds of help you can give your staff. I can always give a good fellow a couple of kicks in the right direction. I can always get an internship for a good boy if I really want to. I did that for M. I met him at a medical banquet while he was a student. I found out that he was a local boy and wanted an internship here....Now I've got him on the staff, and in a year or two I'm going to bring him into this office to share my practice....

Third, a person can start a practice by splitting fees with the doctor who refers cases to him. This practice can be damaging, however, if it becomes public knowledge. Finally, the would-be specialist may inquire through the local medical association about the desirability of setting up practice in a given community.

IV. The Inner Fraternity:

Interview data indicated that in the American city studied, a group of specialists---the so-called inner core of the profession---controlled recruitment, appointments to medical institutions and distribution of patients. Members of this inner core dominated the major hospital posts. These men were surrounded by a number of recruits in various stages of their careers who were being groomed to inherit the positions of this inner core. Around the core were clustered the general practitioners who were bound to refer their complicated cases to the specialists. Outside the core were gathered the practitioners who were attempting to break into the central core by their individual efforts.

The inner core of the medical profession has three distinctive characteristics. First, it represents the technical division of labor. Specialization breaks medicine into manageable sections. "Second, this inner core represents a method of organizing the market. It is a system for seeing that the patient eventually gets to the specialist most likely to be able to help him." Third, members of the inner core constitute a social group. Because they share similar educational and social-economic backgrounds, are in close spatial proximity, and are technically interdependent, consensus among members of this group is very high.

It is worth noting that sponsorship in the medical profession does not have the characteristics of nepotism. The protege of a doctor must live up to the expectations of his sponsor. Failure on the part of the recruit would be more than just personal failure; it would involve the prestige of the sponsor. The protege is committed to going through the stages involved in the apprenticeship. He must accept the accompanying discipline and must progressively assume the responsibilities of leadership.

"It would appear that specialized medicine is no longer an independent profession.....It has become highly interdependent rather than independent, and it is carried on within the framework of elaborate social machinery rather than within a freely competitive milieu." The development of the specialized career is contingent upon the role which the doctor plays in the very complex, informal organizations of the profession.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselors are frequently confronted with clients who have a strong emotional attachment to the goal of being a physician. Any rational discussion with these individuals about their chances for success is often impossible. The material in this study gives insight into the adjustment problems faced by medical students, interns, residents, and physicians entering private practice. Although the author does not discuss the most crucial career problem, that of securing entry into a medical school, it seems likely that this is strongly influenced by many of the same factors cited in respect to later progress in the profession.

There is little doubt that, other things being equal, the client who is a member of a medical family or who has relatives who are physicians has a tremendous advantage. Clients should evaluate their own opportunities for entering medical school not only in terms of aptitude and academic records but also in terms of family and ethnic background.

This report fails to take into account the large number of institutional physicians serving in federal and state hospitals, clinics, and industrial positions. For these physicians, the mechanisms of occupational control are probably somewhat different from those to which the physician in private practice is subjected.

The information in this report is also of significance to counselors who have many contacts with physicians because of their work with disabled clients. Knowledge of this information may give a better understanding of the behavior of physicians, and the stresses and strains in their role which may affect their relations with counselors, psychologists, and social workers. The physician employed full-time by an institution may develop relationships with counselors that are quite different from those developed by physicians in private practice.

Scope: Occupational Field

Author's Abstract:

"The members of the medical profession are heavily dependent on a set of formal institutions and informal organization. In an eastern American city here reported the established specialists constituted the inner core of the profession. This core functioned to control appointments to the medical institutions, to exclude or penalize intruders, to distribute patients, and to enforce rules and control competition. The influence of this inner core is crucially important in the careers of new recruits to medicine. The stages of a medical career are here set forth as a set of adjustments to this inner core and to the institutions it influences."

Methodology:

" The materials have been drawn from interviews with a wide variety of doctors. The interviews centered around the circumstances involved in success and failure in the practice of medicine."

Cautions:

Generalizations are based on interviews conducted in one American city.

Theoretical Orientation:

Medicine is practiced within a network of institutions, formal organizations, and informal relationships. Development of one's career may be viewed as a set of more or less successful adjustments to these institutions, and to the formal and informal organizations. Four stages can be distinguished:

1) generating ambition
2) gaining admission to the various institutions
3) acquiring clientele
4) developing relationships with colleagues

PHARMACISTS ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 074.181

McCormack, Thelma Herman. "The Druggists' Dilemma: Problems of a Marginal Occupation," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXI, No. 4 (January, 1956), pp. 308-315.

Description:

Pharmacy is viewed as a marginal occupation in which the pharmacist is caught between the goals of business and the professions. Up to a certain extent, the pharmacist is able to incorporate these goals. For example, the goals of both business and the professions are rational and seek universalistic solutions. "Both make authority dependent upon technical competence and view authority as highly specialized" rather than general. But "the service objectives of a profession are at odds with the pecuniary goals of business." Consequently, the pharmacist is beset with conflicts in making decisions which involve a choice of one or the other goal. Resolution of the conflict depends, to some degree, upon the self-conception of the pharmacist---"whether he sees himself as a professional performing social service or acting in the capacity of a seller."

Findings: Pharmacy appears to draw its recruits, in part, from the lower socio-economic groups. In the group studied, the occupation was an avenue for upward mobility, at least in terms of education. "As first year college students, 63 per cent had more education than their fathers, and if the entire group completes the four-year program, 78 per cent will have had more education than their fathers."

The majority of pharmacy students hoped to become proprietors of small business while enjoying the status of a professional. Pharmacy students tended to mention "ownership of organization" significantly more often than did accounting students when questioned about their aspirations. This distinction was explained by the fact that pharmacy has a small business tradition which encourages one to expect to be an employer while, in contrast, accounting is an occupation closely tied to the development of large scale corporate financing so that one would tend to visualize himself as an employee of a corporation.

Students who came from working-class backgrounds tended to have more favorable attitudes toward chain drugstores than did students from middle-class backgrounds. Perhaps consumer advantages of big business and their fair employment policies were better known by the lower-class group. Students from the higher-income backgrounds, as well as those from low-income backgrounds, conceived of big business as interfering with "professional" performance.

The students were aware of the importance of having a pleasing personality in addition to the technical competency required in their calling. The replies to the occupational rating questions revealed that the students "(1) allied themselves with a medical-scientific group, (2) upgraded themselves within this group, and (3) raised the entire group above other professional occupations." Aside from these differences, they perceived the occupational prestige hierarchy in the same way as others would. (See Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," Opinion News (September, 1947).)

Conclusions: Current training trends emphasize the status of the professional. The students' "interest and ability for scientific research are carefully developed, preparing him for the laboratory work required by hospitals, schools, and pharmaceutical companies." Yet, few pharmacists view themselves as occupying such positions, according to the data. This response pattern and the inflated prestige rating of the occupation are seen as signifying the marginal attributes of the occupation. It is speculated that the socio-economic background of the trainees may influence the way in which students resolve the conflict of identification (i.e., business man vs. professional). It may be that those who come from low-income backgrounds have fewer loyalties to business and find it easier to adjust to the role of the salaried professional than those coming from higher-income backgrounds.

Implications for Counseling:

Because of the many full-time and part-time jobs open to students in drug stores, counselees considering the goal of pharmacist frequently have had or can easily obtain experience which acquaints them with the work environment of the occupation. In addition, pharmacy students normally work in drug stores as part of their school training. More realism in occupational choice presumably results from these tryout experiences.

Interest inventories may differentiate between interest in business as against the scientific aspects of the occupation and may be used by the vocational counselor as a basis for discussions with the counselee of the dual fields of interests represented by the occupation.

The training for the goal of pharmacist is long and arduous and the counselee should be careful to appraise the rewards of the occupation compared with the rewards offered in other occupations for the equivalent amount of time and effort.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Pharmacy, a marginal occupation between business and profession and currently undergoing major economic and technological changes, creates identification problems for its trainees. Findings based on a questionnaire given to a group of pharmacy students suggest a general pattern of conflict avoidance, idealizing both small business protected from competition and medical careers. Comparisons with Hatt-North data indicate greater prestige given to medical-scientific occupations than the latter elicit from the general population. Evidently, socioeconomic status determines whether business or professional orientation will give the profession its character."

Methodology:

One-hundred and seventeen student pharmacists were administered a questionnaire that included an occupational prestige rating.

Cautions:

The sample for this study was not necessarily a representative sample of pharmacy students in general. The findings are the conjectures of the author, for the most part.

Theoretical Orientation:

Pharmacy is conceived of as a marginal occupation which lies between a business and professional orientation. Since this occupation is undergoing major economic and technological changes, trainees for the occupation face problems of identification.

NURSES, TRAINED ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 075.378

Corwin, Ronald G. "The Professional Employee: A Study of Conflict in Nursing Roles," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVI, No. 6 (May, 1961), pp. 604-615.

Description:

There is a conflict between the professional and the bureaucratic conception of the nurse's role. The bureaucratic conception involves an emphasis on administrative routine, the elaboration of rules and sanctions, adequate record-keeping, etc. The professional conception of the role places emphasis on a vast and expanding body of knowledge, professional capacity to solve problems, and the maintenance of standards and values.

In the professional school, there is an emphasis placed on the nurse's intellectual capacity as a decision-maker, her responsibility for patient welfare, and her leadership potential. In the hospital organization, much of the work is standardized and the rules are often more arbitrarily constraining than expected.

The conflict between the bureaucratic and professional conception of the role is more sharply drawn in the case of the degree candidate than in the case of the diploma candidate. The degree program is administered by a university, while the diploma program is regulated by a hospital administration. There is a consequent tendency for the degree program to emphasize the professional role conception and for the diploma program to emphasize the bureaucratic role conception.

What effect do these different emphases in training have on degree and diploma candidates after graduation? This study reveals that the professional allegiance of diploma nurses declines after graduation, while their initial loyalty to the hospital is maintained. In contrast, degree candidates maintain their professional conceptions and increase their allegiance to the bureaucracy. The perceived discrepancy between the real and the ideal role increases among the degree nurses after graduation. In contrast, the perceived discrepancy does not increase in the case of diploma nurses. Thus, training programs influence the formation of initial role conceptions as well as the intensity and form of later perceived discrepancy, and possible disillusionment.

Implications for Counseling:

Because adolescents frequently choose the occupation of trained nurse for unrealistic reasons---such as the glamour they envision such a career to have---the occupation has been viewed with suspicion by many counselors. Recently, some girls considering this goal have been realistically testing their choices by working as nurses' aides in hospitals after school and in the summers while on vacation. It is likely that this trial experience has been highly effective in reducing illusions and increasing the realism of the choices.

For many girls, the choice between the three year hospital school of nursing and the four year bachelor degree program in nursing at a university is a major decision. While the decision is usually made on the basis of such criteria as length of time the client wishes to spend in school, cost, family expectations regarding college attendance, etc., the additional factor of the conflict of roles in the respective programs might well be brought to the client's attention as being pertinent to the decision-making.

A study such as this one is useful in showing clients that there are role conflicts not only in this occupation but in many occupations, and that this is a major factor to which he must adjust in his work life. In the opinion of this writer, our elementary and secondary schools tend to minimize the amount of conflict within American society so that the graduate is ill-prepared to face the many and varied conflicts before him.

Some general discussion of the ways in which role conflicts are handled may well be in order. With reference to this study, there were three ways of handling the conflict: 1) by identifying with the profession, 2) by identifying with the hospital bureaucracy, and 3) by achieving a synthesis between the two views.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"A study of the conflict between conceptions of role and discrepancies between the ideal perceptions of role and reality among 296 graduate and student nurses suggests that, at graduation, inherent conflicts between professional and bureaucratic principles of organization are most seriously encountered. Those who express strong allegiance to bureaucratic and professional roles, simultaneously, also sense the greatest discrepancies between ideal conceptions and perceived opportunity to fulfill them---which is interpreted as evidence of their incompatability. But, because of greater independence of collegiate programs from hospital administration, bureaucratic principles are less relevant there, while professional principles are stressed more than in the diploma program. There is evidence that diploma and degree graduates organize the bureaucratic-professional roles differently and adjust to conflict of roles in systematically different ways."

Methodology:

The sample consisted of 201 staff nurses, 23 head nurses and 71 junior and senior student nurses in either diploma or degree training programs. Selection was made from seven hospitals and four schools of nursing in a Midwestern metropolis. Questionnaires designed to assess bureaucratic, professional, and service role conceptions were administered to this sample.

Cautions:

The generalizations of this study are based on a non-representative sample of nurses in the United States.

Theoretical Orientation:

There is an inevitable disparity between the occupational role learned in training schools and the actual role requirements of the job situation. Teachers tend to emphasize the ideal and do not provide a totally realistic picture of the career. Graduation from a vocational training program and the beginning of a career imply a transformation in status involving changes in beliefs, perceptions, and conceptions of role.

NURSE, STAFF
NURSE, STUDENT

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: 075.378

Malone, Mary, Berkowitz, Norman H., and Klein, Malcolm W. "The Paradox in Nursing," American Journal of Nursing, Vol. LXI, No. 9 (September, 1961).

Description:

Evidence from an on-going, four-year investigation of nurses and students indicates that "the commonly held concept of the 'ideal' nursing role seems to be out of harmony with many areas of nursing practice today."

Nursing students' responses to a questionnaire showed that they conceived of their occupational role as constituting the care of a bedridden medical or surgical patient, whose condition allows the nurse considerable control over the situation and the patient, and demands much technical nursing care. When asked to state their preference among patients whose illnesses ranged from the very serious bedridden condition to the ambulatory stage, more than half of the respondents chose the very seriously ill patient. Only four out of the fifteen respondents chose the patient at home. None of the students chose the clinic patient. "The fact that the clinic was not chosen at all," according to the authors, "suggests that the clinic patient violates the concept of patient. The students see their own role model violated in OPD (the outpatient department) and infer that the ambulatory patient has no need for nursing cares."

Employment of nurses in settings where there are no physically ill, bedridden patients--as for example, in psychiatric hospitals, in clinics, industry, schools, physicians' offices, research organizations, etc.--may lead to a type of role conflict that is designated as 'role deprivation;' "a role occupant perceives her performance as different from her ideal role concept."

An earlier study indicated that nurses experiencing role deprivation (measured by time spent in patient care) in an outpatient setting "were less satisfied with their supervisors, the general quality of supervision, and level of patient care in the clinic, than their colleagues." The earlier study also demonstrated that nurses were not rewarded for the quality or quantity of nursing duties. Rather, they were rewarded for the smooth operation of the clinic and/or for minimizing problems between the clinic and other departments.

At one point in this present investigation, the students were asked to describe the role they expected to have twenty years from now. Two of the fifteen respondents expected to be giving direct care to physically ill patients and one expected to be caring for mentally ill patients. The remaining twelve respondents expected to have some supervisory or teaching position. According to the authors' interpretation, this evidence suggests that the rewards (i.e., status, prestige and salary) associated with the position of educator and supervisor are more important to the students than those associated with positions requiring direct care of patients. There is a built-in conflict between fulfillment of the role and future expectations. Students seem to be aware of this paradoxical situation; i.e., the kinds of activities that students see as essential to the fulfillment of their role are not the kinds of activities for which they are rewarded.

Additional responses of nursing students regarding duties in the outpatient department were in agreement with the authors' earlier findings. There was, however, some evidence in the responses to indicate that students have an inaccurate picture of the outpatient department. The authors suspect that the cause of this very limited concept of the nursing role is to be found in the training methods of nursing schools. "Although the curriculum and the objectives of the nursing schools indicate that the graduate of the program would have a comprehensive concept of the nursing role, the educational process and the practice settings evidently emphasize one kind of nursing care and one type of patient more than another."

In concluding, the authors plead for changes in the concept of the patient and in the systems of rewards accorded to nursing.

Implications for Counseling:

This study offers the counselor excellent material for use in discussions with clients about the varying roles in nursing. These roles can vary horizontally---there are hospital staff nurses and there are nurses who serve in physicians' offices. They can also vary sequentially---in the early phase of a career, one might be a staff nurse; in a later stage, a supervisor.

It may be postulated that the nurse's ability and success in gracefully moving from one role to another is contingent upon a certain relativity in attitude toward self, human relationships, and values. Lack of this attitude of relativity can make it difficult for the prospective nurse to accept deviant behavior and to cope with it objectively and effectively.

Flexible attitudes exhibited by the client during the course of the counseling interview may be used as a predictor of her ability to adjust to the varying roles in nursing. The inability to see self, human relationships and values as relative may be a clue to inflexibility which makes adjustment to a variety of role demands difficult.

To the extent that the client is able to lower her defenses, some discussion of this kind of relativity may provide an excellent opportunity for personal adjustment counseling---a need that frequently must be met before successful occupational-choice counseling can be accomplished.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

"These opinions are based on an on-going, four-year investigation of selected factors affecting the role of the nurse in outpatient departments. The specific data reported in this article are drawn from interviews with fifteen nursing students in a university school."

Cautions:

Of interest is the authors' comment regarding the sample: "Fifteen respondents is a small number. However...there was amazing uniformity in their responses, and the data are consistent with our findings from the larger outpatient department study. Conclusions drawn independently from the two sources would sound similar."

NURSING, PSYCHIATRIC ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 075.378

Segal, Bernard E. "Male Nurses: A Case Study in Status Contradiction and Prestige Loss," Social Forces, Vol. XLI, No. 1 (October, 1962), pp 31-38.

Description:

In our society, there exists a belief that certain types of occupations are more suitable for men than for women. For example, truck driving is considered to be a man's job while kindergarten teaching is usually regarded as the province of women. If a man or, for that matter, a woman enters into an occupation believed to be more suitable for the opposite sex, he or she encounters not only suspicious looks from co-workers but, in some instances, suffers serious loss of prestige and self-esteem.

This article illustrates some of the difficulties that men face when they enter the nursing occupation, a traditionally female pursuit.

Status Tensions in the Hospital Organization: The nursing occupation has been in a state of flux for some time. Changes in the profession and in the styles and goals of hospital administration have resulted in differences regarding the conception of the proper nursing role as viewed by physicians, administrators, and nurses themselves.

Male nurses who enter into this traditionally female occupation are viewed with suspicion. According to the values of our culture, they have failed to meet expectations that supposedly govern men's career choices in society (i.e., pick a man's job), and these men supposedly lack characteristics that are inherent in the nursing profession (e.g., tenderness and patience). The men's presence in this occupation contradicts the status ascribed to them, if by nothing more than their sex alone. The male nurses' particular concern with interpersonal relations in the hospital is an indication of the tension that results from their contradictory status. According to the interview data, male nurses are more concerned about their relationship with doctors and aides---who are males---than are the female nurses. For the male nurses, the physicians represent an "evaluation group;" i.e., they compare themselves to the doctors and attempt to have more social contact with them.

When the male and female nurses discussed differences between themselves and doctors, the female nurses emphasized the distinction regarding formal authority relations. In contrast, the male nurses were concerned with aspects of prestige. They were more willing than the female nurses to question the physicians' expertise. "Many wanted to be more like doctors," notes the author. The doctors, however, did not welcome the male nurses into their ranks.

Although the male nurses were aware of the status distinctions between themselves and doctors, they regarded themselves as full-fledged professionals, especially in their contact with aides. They looked upon the aides as a group of relatively unskilled, manual workers. They wanted to establish clear job and status distinctions between themselves and the aides. In practice, this was difficult, however, since nurses of both sexes had to perform tasks which they felt were more properly the function of the aides.

In the hospital organization, the male nurses formed an isolated group. They were different from their female colleagues by virtue of their sex. They were cut off from the physicians because of their lower rank and they voluntarily cut themselves off from the aides whose status was lower than theirs.

The male nurses' relationship with their female co-workers was problematic. The women did not think well of them. Their opinion is illustrated by the following comments:

> Nursing could be a good job for men if they could accept it, but they're their own worst enemies. They get all kinds of feelings about being a nurse.
>
> ....
>
> They don't support the nursing organization and voice their opinions and needs....They come in because they lean toward feminine pursuits. Then they leave because they can't accept their role.

When the occupational skills of the male and female nurses were compared, the male nurses claimed that they were at least as capable as their female counterparts to perform their duties. Moreover, they felt that they had the necessary physical strength (presumably lacking in the females) to restrain a disturbed patient if the need for such an action should arise.

Female nurses with relatively low educational and social backgrounds believed that the occupation was unrespectable for men because the work role was emasculating. The better-educated nurses with relatively higher social origins believed that nursing was undesirable for men because the pay was too low and the level of skill requirements was too rudimentary to confer much prestige.

The Male Nurses and Extra-Hospital Status: Comments of male nurses indicated that they had entered the occupation because it seemed to be a secure job, somewhat above the manual, semi-skilled work they probably would have performed elsewhere. After several years in the occupation, however, they found that upward mobility was possible but difficult. Higher positions---for example, that of the anesthetist---demanded more formal education than they had. As opposed to their female colleagues who were interested in becoming housewives and/or mothers after a while, the male nurses felt that their career aspirations had been thwarted. They were of the opinion that upward mobility should be made available to everyone who might like to improve his position.

Evidently, the scale for achievement expectations is higher for men than it is for women in our society. Men do not find their occupational prestige satisfactory even when the women in that occupation are satisfied with it. This phenomenon was revealed when sixty per cent of the men, in contrast to thirty per cent of the women, stated their belief that the public did not grant nurses the prestige the occupation warranted.

Conclusions: In the opinion of the author, largely female occupations which suffer from a shortage of personnel---such as nursing---will not alleviate that shortage by the employment of men if the prevailing, negative appraisal of men working in that occupation continues. It may be that as nursing becomes more technical and less personal, it will be more suited for both sexes. "In any case, public attitudes lag behind actual changes in the profession; for male nurses such attitudes are, and will continue to be part of social reality."

Implications for Counseling:

It is regretted that this study of the conflict in ascribed role (men) versus achieved role (nurse) failed to make mention of the tendency there is to give men preference for administrative positions. With the increasing tendency for the trained nurse to become an administrator, the door may be opened for a resolution of the bind the male nurse sometimes feels himself to be in. If the male nurse were to eventually be preferred over the female nurse as an administrator, learning and performing the technical duties of a nurse might be seen as merely an entry role aimed toward the ultimate goal of administrator. Such a progression would be compatible with the ascribed masculine role. The considerable opportunities available in hospital administration reinforce these role possibilities. Whether males attracted to the occupation of nursing have the ability for this upgrading is a question deserving of research.

The position of men in elementary school teaching is similar to this situation. It, too, is a traditionally feminine role. Since men are preferred as administrators, however, the rise of a competent male elementary school teacher to a principalship is extremely rapid.

Not to be ignored is the question of whether some men are attracted to the nursing occupation because they are not comfortable in a fully masculine role. A review of the life history data may reveal predominantly feminine-role types of activities for some male nurses, and, in this event, their choice of nursing would indicate an attempt to extend such a life style into the vocational sphere. Typically, such counselees come from families where there is no male head of the household. Any attempts to make the role more masculine in these cases would probably meet with little success and could conceivably cause such role occupants great distress.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Male nurses in a psychiatric hospital were compared and contrasted to their female colleagues with respect to their conceptions of their intra-hospital status and their place in the general stratification system outside the hospital. Within the hospital, the male nurses differed from the females in their views of the other occupational groups with whom nurses are in contact. The men's involvement in an occupation usually reserved for women also affected their view of the general stratification system, especially in terms of a relatively low estimate of their own self-esteem."

Methodology:

A total of 22 male and 79 female nurses working in a 250-bed capacity, private, psychiatric hospital of Boston were interviewed for this study. The male nurses were concentrated on the wards that housed male and/or senile patients and, in general, they all had higher official positions than the women.

Cautions:

The small sample drawn from the nursing population of a single institution warrants caution in making broad generalizations from the findings. There is the strong possibility that nurses in a private psychiatric hospital may resemble neither nurses in a public psychiatric hospital nor nurses in a general medical hospital.

Theoretical Orientation:

Individual status can be viewed as a series of positions in a series of hierarchies. The individual who simultaneously occupies inconsistent statuses is likely to feel tensions. Everett C. Hughes applied the term "contradiction of status" to instances where the combination of ascribed status characteristics and occupational, auxiliary characteristics appeared to be inappropriate.

The hypothesis which Samuel Stouffer puts forth states that "as women invade an occupation to the point of becoming a large minority within it, it becomes increasingly unrespectable for a man to be in that occupation." Reformulating Stouffer's statement, the author finds that "it is more or less unrespectable for a man, and hence damaging to his prestige and self-esteem, to be a member of the nursing profession, an occupation in which a large majority of the job incumbents are women."

CHIROPRACTOR   **ABSTRACT**   D.O.T. Code: 079.108

Wardwell, Walter I. "The Reduction of Strain in a Marginal Social Role," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXI, No. 1 (July, 1955), pp. 16-25.

Description:

I. Strain in the Role of the Chiropractor

The chiropractor's role is marginal in comparison to the well-institutionalized role of the doctor in five respects: (1) amount of technical competence, (2) breadth of scope of practice, (3) legal status, (4) income, and (5) prestige. Marginality of the role results from the fact that chiropractors claim to be doctors of a special kind, and are so regarded by many people, while society at large does not accord them the status of the doctor.

It is suggested that lack of clarity in the definition of the role hinders the person's adjustment and creates strain.

The role of the doctor which chiropractors attempt to emulate is ambiguous in itself The doctor's role combines the roles of the scientist, the businessman and the humanitarian. In the case of the chiropractor, this already tenuous nature of the role is further accentuated by several other factors:

1. The public is ignorant about what chiropractors are supposed to do.

2. There is lack of agreement among chiropractors themselves as to what the treatment of the patient should be. The so-called " straights" limit their manipulation to the spinal cord. The "mixers," in addition to manipulation, use heat, light, water, exercise, and electric modalities in their treatment processes.

3. State laws---where such exist---differ as to the scope of practice they permit. In the states where legislation pertaining to chiropractors does not exist, the practitioners' frustration increases. The tension is illustrated by these comments: "My brother left the state because he couldn't take it any longer....The worst thing about being a chiropractor is that you have to practice behind locked doors."

4. The chiropractors, who are exposed to the same role ambiguities that doctors face, must make a choice as to whether to follow the role of the businessman in their daily activities with patients, or to abide by the obligations fo aid anyone who is sick.

5. When compared to medical doctors, the chiropractors are at a disadvantage. Their income is lower than that of doctors, and, also, they are denied access to the use of medical facilities, i.e., hospitals. The AMA publications continuously degrade the chiropractors as "charlatans" and regard their patients as "hypochondriacs" or "dupes."

II. Patterns of Strain Reduction

In response to the strains inherent in the occupational role, certain patterns of role accomodation have developed. These patterns may be classified as realistic patterns, aggressive patterns, withdrawal patterns, deviant patterns, and accommodative patterns.

a. Realistic patterns: In states which do not have licensing laws for chiropractors, the following behavioral patterns were observed: the chiropractors, informally and in associations, unite for purposes of mutual aid which then provides them with insurance protection and defense counsel. They practice under the guise of being physio-therapists or masseurs. They restrict practice to "safe" illnesses and to trusted patients. They participate in civic and organizational activities in order to obtain community acceptance. They actively campaign for legislative protection. Their failure in the latter instance is attributed to the opposition of powerful medical interests.

b. Aggressive patterns: The chiropractor's aggressive behavior may be directed toward the source of frustration or toward a substitute target (a scapegoat). Most frequently, the aggression is expressed verbally and is directed primarily toward organized medicine and toward legislators (sources of frustration). On occasion, the aggressive behavior is directed toward another member of the occupation. For example, "mixers" regard "straights" as "obstacles to scientific progress" and will show more hostility toward this group than toward organized medicine. Or, the chiropractor may vent his aggressive feelings against patients by giving them vigorous "adjustments."

c. Withdrawal patterns: This type of behavior may take two forms. In the extreme case, the practitioner may simply abandon the profession. In the more limited form, the practitioner may practice part-time or may confine his practice to a narrow (i.e., safe) range of illnesses.

d. Deviant patterns: The chiropractor's deviant behavior may take the forms of selling secret remedies, engaging in fee-splitting, soliciting patients, advertising, exaggerating illnesses, promising a cure, or over-charging the patient. They view such illegal practices as essential, and rationalize them in this manner: chiropractors practice a new type of healing art which organized medicine wants to suppress; advertisement makes their new venture known to the public; solicitations are necessary "to wean patients away" from the medical doctor.

e. Accommodative patterns: The "philosophy" of the chiropractic healing principle defines the cause of illness as well as techniques for its cure. This philosophy is so sacred that its validity is never questioned. An outcome that is different from what the chiropractor had proposed is attributed to human frailty rather than to the inadequacy of the techniques administered. This kind of philosophy gives the practitioner confidence in any situation and can be viewed as a form of cognitive accommodation.

Another form of cognitive accommodation is suggested by the occupational ideology. According to this ideology, chiropractic and medicine are seen as distinct specialities. Regulations pertaining to medicine should not be binding on the chiropractors since their training and practices are so different from medicine. Chiropractors are also members of the healing arts. Just because they practice a different type of specialty, natural healing methods, they should not feel inferior to physicians. Legislative and educational campaigns are needed to bring public recognition to their cause.

The ideology defines the present situation of chiropractors as one limited by organized medicine and "drug trusts", who prevent the chiropractors from enjoying their constitutional freedom. The chiropractors are persecuted because " their competition threatens the prestige and vested interests of the medical profession." Despite the legal and social restrictions, chiropractors do have the right to practice because their method "is the 'natural' way of gaining and retaining health." It has produced cures where medicine had failed. It helps the sick regardless of his ability to pay. "The ideology of an oppressed minority justifies almost any means of combating medicolegal 'oppression.' The reasoning is that when one is being kicked, it is all right to kick back." Holding such ideas about the situation greatly facilitates the chiropractor's adjustment to his role.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors will want clients considering entering the occupation of chiropractor to be aware of the many problems which the occupation poses. Since there is a shortage of personnel in the many new paramedical occupations, clients should be urged to consider all of these occupations before deciding upon any one. Such clients should be given an opportunity to read this abstract; the ways of analyzing role strain in an occupation, as described in this report, may be usefully applied to many other occupations.

Clients considering the occupations should be encouraged to talk with physicians for their view of the chiropractic occupation as well as talking with chiropractors themselves.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Structural sources of strain in the role of chiropractor tend to validate Leonard Cottrell's propositions concerning role adjustment. But analysis of strain in a role is incomplete unless strain reduction is also considered, since the latter comprises part of the situation which produces strain. For example, the chiropractor's ideology of oppressed minority legitimizes their present social position, explains why they are not fully accepted as doctors, and defines their future goals."

Methodology:

Interviews were conducetd with chiropractors practicing in the State of Massachusetts.

Cautions:

Generalizations beyond those which pertain to the particular area to which this data applies can not be made on the basis of this study.

Theoretical Orientation:

Leonard Cottrell's propositions concerning role adjustment provide the theoretical framework in which the chiropractor's patterns of accommodation to strain are viewed.

OCCUPATIONAL THERAPIST — **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 079.128

Buskey, Janet M. "An Exploratory Survey of Occupational Therapy." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1962.*

Description:

This survey of occupational therapists investigated (1) the background characteristics of persons working in the field, and (2) followed their career line in order to outline future areas of research.

Personal Characteristics: The majority of occupational therapists were female, native Americans, Presbyterians. They worked in cities; their friends were of higher occupational status groups. Most therapists had completed five-year courses leading to a B.A. or B.S. degree which qualified them to practice occupational therapy. Twenty-seven universities were represented among the respondents. "The greatest concentration of therapists occurred in the younger age group (ages 22-36), reflecting the recent expansion of the occupation." The group studied tended to live in the east and west North Central States, and worked in cities within their state of origin. The older therapists tended to work outside of their home states, and completed shorter courses of occupational therapy than did the younger age group. About two-thirds of the respondents were single; they were dating men of higher occupational status. The married occupational therapists (one-third of sample) had husbands who were of middle occupational status. Size of the therapists' families ranged from one to three children.

Social Origin: The group studied had come from families of higher occupational origin. The parents tended to be urban homeowners, white, protestants. There appeared some upward intergenerational occupational mobility between the respondents' grandfathers, fathers, and occupational therapists. There was also a trend toward city living among parents and grandparents of the sample.

Career Line: From the data it appeared that the respondents had their initial contact with the occupation through a person, family member or a close friend, who herself was familiar with it. Some therapists had indicated that they knew of the occupation from some type of written material, a book, magazine, newspapers, etc. Most of the therapists mentioned that they made their career decisions in high school or in college, although some respondents had transferred from other related occupational fields. The respondent's occupational decision was influenced by "need during the wars," by such factors as "creative ability" and "imagination," and by respect toward persons who have entered a "humanitarian field." The service motive was balanced by the practical considerations of obtaining a vocation. Fifty-five per cent of the respondents stated that occupational therapy was their first choice; fifty-six per cent of the replies mentioned that they had considered but rejected occupations such as medicine or teaching, business, art, psychology, and opportunity for further education. Sixty-four per cent of the respondents reported that they had worked in more than one area within the field of occupational therapy. Slightly less than two-thirds of the entire sample had worked in physical disabilities or psychiatry. Nineteen and nine-tenths per cent had worked in tuberculosis and pediatrics, while the remainder was scattered among GMS, teaching, geriatrics and administration. The average therapist held at least three positions during her career.

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*This thesis was abstracted selectively.

Slightly less than half of the respondents were satisfied with their vocation. Those who indicated on the questionnaire a desire to change their occupation worked mostly in administration, geriatrics and pediatrics. It appeared that teaching and other medical professions were the popular alternate choices for this group. The alternate choices appeared to the respondents to provide the chance to earn higher salaries, have more convenient working hours, greater availability of positions, and other fringe benefits.

The following typical responses as to why they wanted to change occupation were given:

> Sometimes occupational therapy doesn't seem essential enough to the medical team. I question its worth.
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> * * * *
>
> I want to leave, to branch out into different fields. I have worked under very few doctors who even really considered occupational therapy as therapy; but just a harmless past-time is their attitude. Physical therapy has all the status.

These responses indicated that the therapists were unsure about their role and status vis-a-vis members of the medical professions.

In contrast, there were respondents who found the occupation satisfying: "... Occupational therapy has developed tremendously in the years that I have been in the field and I am proud to be part of the profession." A married woman had remarked: "Because of background (family crafts, hobbies), I found the return to occupational therapy very easy and I'm enjoying this creative work again."

Conclusions:

This exploratory survey of occupational therapists suggested several areas for future research: for example, investigation into the processes of professionalization in the paramedical occupations; inquiry concerning the self-image, professional values, and ideal role conceptions of occupational therapists; and inquiry into problems of status in relation to members of the medical team.

Implications for Counseling:

High school girls focus on nursing as the prototype of the paramedical occupations, and one of the counselor's duties is to help such counselees explore all of the paramedical occupations before they settle on any one of them. This study is most helpful in describing an occupation about which the public knows relatively little.

The low job satisfaction reported by this study is surprising to this reviewer since the occupation would appear to offer the most pleasant job duties in the paramedical field. Apparently, its felt low prestige in relation to other occupations comprising the medical team is a factor here.

The study's presentation of material on the social origins of members of the occupation is most useful.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Interview questionnaires were mailed to a sample selected randomly from the population of 3,084 female occupational therapists. One hundred and forty-five replies were received.

Cautions:

In the absence of any systematic inquiry pertaining to occupational therapists, this exploratory study is of value. The trends revealed herein warrant further study, especially in the areas of self-image, role and status problems in relation to other professionals. Unfortunately, the author restricted her inquiry to female practitioners, thereby ignoring the male members of this occupation. In terms of role and status problems this selection bias cannot be ignored.

Theoretical Orientation:

This exploratory study viewed the occupation as an emerging profession which struggles for the definition of its field of endeavor.

TEACHER, COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 090.228

Thompson, Daniel C. "Career Patterns of Teachers in Negro Colleges," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXXVI, No. 3 (March, 1958), pp. 270-276.

Description:

The Recruits: Despite the high value that Negroes place upon education, they lag far behind, on the whole, in academic achievement in comparison to whites. The differences explain (1) why there is a relative shortage of well-qualified Negro college teachers; and (2) why educated Negroes, particularly Ph.D.'s and those holding some significant academic-administrative position, are assigned a higher status in Negro society than their counterparts in white society.

The majority of Negro teachers in the course of their academic preparation have had to overcome two barriers: poverty and "the sub-standard character of their grade school education."

Statistical data confirmed that differences in the financial resources of Negro and white females required that a greater proportion of Negro than white college students earn their way through college. For instance, 87 per cent of the Negro college teachers worked their way through college as compared to 68 per cent among the white teachers; of Negroes with advanced degrees, 75 per cent earned some of their graduate school expenses as contrasted to 56 per cent of their white colleagues.

The relative shortage of the well-qualified Negro college teacher and the relatively high social status accorded to the teacher in Negro society is explained by the fact that the majority of Negro college teachers had to overcome inadequate high school and college training in preparation for academic careers. The following statistics suggest the extent of this handicap: "...About 13 or 14 of every 100 white students who graduate from college go on to receive the Master's degree subsequently, with about 2 of every 100 going on for the doctorate. However, only 5 or 6 Negro college graduates of every 100 ever receive a Master's degree, with only about 1 in 1,000 Negro college graduates subsequently receiving the doctorate."

The shortage of highly trained Negro college teachers is further illustrated by the fact that 16 per cent of the teachers held doctorates in the Negro colleges studied, whereas the "median" American college had 35 per cent of its faculty members holding Ph.D. degrees in 1945.

Teaching: (1) The data showed that those teachers who, because of sex, race, age and field of specialization would have the greatest chance for success, in some non-teaching occupation offering comparable or greater prestige are, in fact, most frequently the ones who would like to change their occupation. In the sample, 24 per cent of the Negro teachers and 40 per cent of the white teachers indicated a desire to shift to some non-teaching occupation.

(2) Almost two-thirds of the sample replied that they tended to maintain low, or, at least, flexible academic standards in their classes. There are several reasons for such practices. First, Negro colleges recruit about 85 per cent of their

student body from segregated schools where, as a rule, academic standards are lower than the national average. Second, some teachers may be reluctant to give low or failing grades to Negro students when they know that their parents make great sacrifices to educate them. In view of the great need for Negro professionals, teachers occasionally feel justified in giving relatively high grades to students who plan to do graduate work. Low college grades would prevent these promising students from being accepted for advanced study.

(3) Negro colleges usually require that their faculty carry the maximum teaching load (15 hours per week) regardless of the size of their classes or the extent of special help required by students.

(4) The rate of faculty turnover is quite high in Negro colleges. Approximately one third of the teachers may be classified as "itinerant teachers," i.e. they frequently change from one college to another. Of the 364 teachers who changed positions in the past five years in the sample, 84 per cent had voluntarily resigned from their positions. The most frequently cited reasons for the change were: higher salary, greater academic freedom and prestige, and such fringe benefits as better working conditions, better living arrangements, and better cultural environment.

Research: Negro teachers are considerably less productive in creative writing and research than are white college teachers. The reasons for the low productive scholarship are as follows: (1) most of the teachers in Negro colleges are isolated from the mainstream of U.S. academic life; (2) a large number of the teachers are unprepared to do independent research or creative writing since their formal training usually was terminated before they reached the level in which proficiency in such areas was required; (3) the teachers' academic duties do not allow sufficient time for extended research; (4) research funds are usually insufficient or unavailable; (5) few Negro colleges expect their faculty to engage in any creative activity; (6) since Negro colleges, in general, are accorded lower academic status, publishing houses and scholarly journals are somewhat reluctant to publish the work of teachers affiliated with such institutions.

Administration: The Negro educational system emphasizes the administrative functions more than the teaching or research functions. Decisions which might be made more intelligently by the faculty are usually made by the college presidents. This centralization of authority, perhaps, is responsible for the wide-spread insecurity and low morale of the Negro college teachers.

Rewards: The data indicated that Negro colleges do not follow any set policy in regard to promotion and salary increases. Some teachers feel that "personal bargaining, 'pull' with the president, good will of students, and community popularity" rather than academic proficiency are the determinants of professional status.

A comparison of salaries of college teachers in Negro and white colleges of comparable size shows that the salary scales in Negro colleges are uniformly lower, but the overall differences are neither great nor consistent. The major difference, generally, is the fact that a large proportion of Negro college teachers are paid the minimum salary.

Social Status: Although all socio-economic classes of Negro society are represented among the college teachers, more than half of the Negro teachers as compared with approximately one-third of their white colleagues come from lower-class homes. The social status of the college teacher in the Negro society is very high since he encounters relatively little status competition from other prestigeful occupational groups. Negro college teachers, however, are reluctant to regard themselves as members of the upper class. There reasons are reflected in these comments:

> "I belong to the upper class professionally but because of my race I am considered lower class."
>
> ....
>
> Intellectually I am upper class, but economically I am lower class.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is extremely useful to vocational counselors both in counseling with clients who aspire to teaching positions in Negro colleges and in evaluating the education received by Negroes who have graduated from Negro colleges.

This information may be particularly valuable for Negroes who are faced with a decision as to whether to attend a white college or a Negro college. Counseling with Negroes prior to their entry into a Negro college may clarify for them the fact that merely satisfactory work in a Negro college may not be enough to enable them to compete successfully with graduates of white colleges. They will need to be'A' students in a Negro college to academically match the 'B' and, perhaps 'C' students from many white colleges. This study may be profitably used with disgruntled graduates of Negro colleges who tend to blame their inability to compete with graduates of white colleges on racial discrimination when, in fact, it is due to their less adequate preparation. It can not be denied, however, that they may also have to contend with the problem of racial discrimination. Vocational counselors should seek to obtain norms on college entrance tests for individuals entering Negro colleges as an additional method of obtaining a more objective evaluation.

The high percentage of Negroes earning their way through college and graduate school can be cited in counseling with Negro counselees as an indication of the possibilities open to them.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Data were gathered from the literature on the occupational culture of teachers in higher education. Information was also obtained by methods of observation, interviews with 50 teachers at 30 different Negro colleges, and by mailed questionnaires sent to 1,110 teachers in 53 accredited, Negro, degree-granting colleges.

Approximately one-third of the sample were females; 11 per cent were whites; 25 per cent held some "earned" doctorate; and 64 per cent of the sample held a Master's degree.

Cautions:

This article points out the dire need for raising the educational and cultural level of the Negro. The significance of recent gains in this direction may be determined by further research.

Theoretical Orientation:

The attainment of a "good education" among Negroes serves to discredit the doctrine of racial inferiority. The better educated Negro is regarded as the most persuasive evidence of the fact that the Negro is the mental equal of whites.

TEACHERS, PRIMARY & SECONDARY ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 092.228
and 091.228

Becker, Howard S. "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 57 (March, 1952), pp. 470-477.

Description:

The concept of career involves a series of adjustments to movement up or down or between positions which are differentiated by their rank in some formal or informal hierarchy of prestige, influence, and income. "People tend to move in patterned ways among the possible positions, seeking that situation which affords the most desirable setting in which to meet and grapple with the basic problems of their work. In some occupations...this kind of career movement assumes greater importance than the vertical variety, sometimes to such an extent that the entire career line consists of movement entirely at one level of work hierarchy." The career lines of the Chicago school teachers tended to follow this latter extreme. Although advancement within the administrative hierarchy of the school system was open for the teachers, few made the effort. It appears that these teachers saw their careers as being confined to teaching.

In terms of prestige, influence, and income, the school system offered just about equal opportunity for all who had a given amount of seniority. The differences which existed among the various teaching positions were concerned with work problems which arose in relations with children, parents, principal, and other teachers.

It appeared that the teachers' most serious problems arose in interactions with the pupils. The teachers felt that the social class background of the students affected the form and the degree of this problem. Generally, the problems with students fell into three distinct categories: (1) the problem of teaching, i.e., producing some change in the child's skills and knowledge which can be attributed to one's own efforts; (2) the problem of discipline; and (3) the problem of "moral acceptability," i.e., bringing one's self to tolerate some of the children's traits which one found immoral and revolting. Children from the lowest strata presented the gravest problems in all three categories. Children "from the better neighborhoods" were quick learners and were easy to teach but were somewhat "spoiled" and difficult to control. These children seemed to lack respect for elders and were impolite. Children from the middle classes were slower learners but worked hard, were easy to control, and appeared to be the most acceptable on the moral level to the teachers.

The problems that concerned parents, the principal, and colleagues revolved primarily around the issue of authority. "Parents of the highest status groups and certain kinds of principals are extremely threatening to the authority the teacher feels basic to the maintenance of her role; in certain situations colleagues, too, may act in such a way as to diminish her authority."

Patterns of Career Movement: Since the teacher's greatest problems of work are found in the lower-class schools, most career movements tend to be out of the "slums" to the "better" neighborhoods. The new teacher typically begins her career in one of the "slum" area schools. Her career from then on may follow either one of two patterns.

In one case, the teacher will attempt to move on immediately to a "better" school. A successful move into a "better" work environment, however, depends upon several factors. First, one must know precisely which schools are "good" and which are to be avoided so that one can make the wisest request for transfer. Information that guides one's choice is usually acquired through the "grapevine." "Second, one must not be of an ethnic type or have a personal reputation which will cause the principal to use his power of informal rejection." The comments of a Negro teacher well illustrate the importance of this consideration:

> All he's got to do is say, 'I don't think you'll be very happy at our school' You take the hint. Because if the principal decides you're going to be unhappy, you will be, don't worry. ...He can fix it so that you have every discipline problem in the grade you're teaching right in your room....So it really doesn't pay to go if you're not wanted. ...

Finally, one must wait for the arrival of the appropriate time to successfully accomplish the transfer to the "right" school. One should not succumb to the temptation to transfer to a less desirable but more accessible position. The majority of the teachers in the sample were found to have had careers of this type. The initial stay in the undesirable neighborhood was followed by the conscious manipulation of the transfer system until assignment to a more desirable school was finally achieved.

The second type of career pattern involves the process of adjustment to the particular work situation. The process begins when, for some reason, the teacher remains in the undesirable position for a number of years. During this time, changes take place in the teacher's perceptions, skills, and relations with members of the school. First, the teacher acquires new teaching and disciplinary techniques which enable her to deal adequately with the "slum" children. These new techniques usually would not be suitable for use with other social class groups. Second, she learns to revise her expectations as to the amount of material she can teach and learns to be satisfied with smaller acoomplishments. "She acquires a routine of work which is customary, congenial, and predictable to the point that any change would require a drastic change in deep-seated habits." Finally, the teacher accepts and understands the "slum" children in relation to their environment; she no longer finds them objectionable.

While these changes are occurring, the teacher is also gradually becoming integrated into the network of social relationships that ease the problems associated with the "slum" school. She becomes accepted by the other teachers and acquires positions of influence and prestige. These changes give her the opportunity to maintain her authority with the principal and colleagues elsewhere. Once the teacher's reputation for firmness in the classroom is established, disciplinary problems become easier to handle. As she becomes a "fixture" in the community, she builds stable and enduring relationships with parents, and the problems of maintaining authority diminish. The "slum" school gradually becomes "bearable" to the teacher who learns to adjust to it. These very adjustments now cause the teacher to fear moving to another school. She has become accustomed to the relative freedom of the slum school and she is not sure whether the advantages to be gained in the better school would not be outweighed by the constraints imposed upon her by interfering parents and spoiled children, as well as by the difficulties encountered in the new school's social structure. "This complete adjustment to a particular work situation thus acts as a brake on further mobility through the system."

Threats to Careers: Ecological invasion of a neighborhood and changes in administrative personnel often create changes in the nature and extent of work problems. In some instances, the total effect of such changes is the destruction of a once satisfying position.

(1) The effect of neighborhood invasion may turn the teacher's career to the direction of adjustment to the new group, while change in local age structure of students and the consequent elimination of teaching positions may turn one's career back to the earlier phase in which transfer to a "nicer" school was sought.

(2) The change of school principal by transfer or retirement may change a satisfactory teaching position to a bad one. The problem is of particular significance in the slum area where efforts of a strict principal usually keep the problems of discipline under control. Reactions to this type of change often result in increased teacher turnover. Changes in principals may also destroy the existing allocation of privileges and influences among the teachers. On the other hand, a new principal may have beneficial effects and be advantageous to younger, less influential teachers. Thus, "the effect of any event must be seen in the context of the type of adjustment made by the individual to the institutional organization in which she works."

Implications for Counseling:

It is likely that school counselors are already familiar with the occupational adjustment problems of teachers. The systematic analysis of the occupation provided by this study may, however, help counselors to understand and more easily accept teacher behavior as reported by the students whom they are counseling. It may also help school counselors to carry on effective informal counseling with teachers facing some of the career decisions indicated by this article, as well as other problems affecting their job adjustment.

Teaching is such a visible occupation that some of the less obvious aspects of it should be brought to the attention of prospective teachers. School counselors might suggest that this abstract be the basis for discussion at a meeting of their local chapter of the Future Teachers of America organization.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Unstructured interviews with sixty teachers in the Chicago school system provided the data for this article.

Cautions:

The author cautions that "the career patterns which are to be found in this social matrix are not expected to be typical of all career movements of this horizontal type. It is likely that their presence will be limited to occupational organizations which, like the Chicago school system, are impersonal and bureaucratic and in which mobility is accomplished primarily through the manipulation of formal procedures." In a different community and in a different type of school system, other variations of career patterns might be found.

Theoretical Orientation:

The concept of career---"the patterned series of adjustments made by the individual to the 'network of institutions, formal organization, and informal relationships' "---provides the theoretical framework in which the horizontal occupational movement of school teachers is examined.

TEACHER, VOCATIONAL AGRICULTURE ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 097.228

Burtner, Frank Alan. "The 'Vo-Ag' Teacher: An Inquiry into the Status and Role of an Emergent Profession." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1958.*

Description:

Historical Origin: The teaching of vocational agriculture in secondary schools was the culmination of a long period of agitation to make scientific advances in agriculture available to the rural population. From another point of view, it resulted from rapid industrialization, and, in a sense, it was an attempt to redress the imbalance existing between agriculture and industry. From still another point of view, vocational agriculture was an attempt to broaden the base of the American educational system by providing vocational training for those groups in the population "who had been considered as not needing or unworthy of training beyond the 'three R's'."

Professional instruction in vocational agriculture developed in response to the public demand and as an educational institution was enacted by law rather than developed spontaneously to meet certain needs of mankind. The establishment of agricultural colleges had long preceded the emergence of the vocational agriculture teacher. The specific function and position of the teacher were first determined in the National Vocational Act of 1947. The "Vo-Ag" teacher, created by this legislative action, became part of the school and state bureaucracies. His functions, unlike those of other professionals (such as lawyers and doctors) were not embedded in tradition or history; "nor did he emerge as the product of a free association composed of those of similar interest." His position in the social structure was different from that of other professionals in this and other respects. Basically, the vocational agriculture teacher is an employee of the state; he is a salaried official. His profession is considered to be a public one. As such, "it occupies an ambiguous position of independence and dependence in relation to the state." The content of the teacher's training is independent from state intervention. The teacher is independent from the state in still another area---in his relationships with clients, i.e., students. To the students, the "Vo-Ag" teacher transmits his technical knowledge and, in this respect, he is no different from other professionals. But, unlike doctors and lawyers (i.e., professionals) whose reputation and income is controlled in a sense by their clients' likes and dislikes, the teacher is not influenced by the students' likes and dislikes to the same extent, since his income results from a contractual relationship with the state rather than from professional fees.

Present Condition of the Profession: Problems of Role and Status:

The "Vo-Ag" teacher is caught between two fields of public service: the public school and organized agricultural education services. He is marginal to both. His duties as a public school teacher alienate him from the agricultural services, while his duties as an agricultural agent alienate him from the public school system. As a result of these conflicting expectations, his status is inferior in both of these institutions. Because of insistence by the vocational agricultural educational administration that both sets of duties are important, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's dilemma is increasing. Awareness of his dual role causes him to accept with resignation the low status accorded to him by colleagues in both institutions.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Another problem confronting the vocational agricultural teacher arises from his role as a technical advisor. His professional training is insufficient to equip him with adequate knowledge to compete successfully with specialized agricultural services. As a consequence, he must refer the specialized services required of him elsewhere, or seek additional information. It seems that he performs his duties better in school than among groups outside the school environment. His duties, however, require that he do both.

The study has indicated that the "Vo-Ag" teacher performs a more valuable function in the vocational agricultural guidance area than he does as a teacher. It may be that "the trend toward part-time farming and the proliferation of specialized agricultural services may displace the agricultural teacher in his role of guiding farm youths into farming." One could also speculate that in the future his role will tend to be more of vocational guidance. This then raises the question about his competence to make the transition, since he is committed to agriculture. Of course, such a transition of role would also depend upon the federal government's decision as to whether to provide vocational guidance to all youths.

The possibility of such a role transition in rural schools points to "the emergence of a competing role for the teacher of vocational agriculture." At present, migration and mobility are available to all persons. More and more rural youths are leaving the farms. The school, in view of such developments, is faced with a dual duty: first, those who remain on the farm must be instructed in the use of the most advanced techniques in order to keep pace with population growth when, at the same time, the number of farmers is decreasing; and second, those who are contemplating leaving the farm must be provided with guidance and instructions in order to equip them "to pursue urban vocations with a minimum of difficulty in adjustment." The first obligation of the school would demand increasing the agricultural teacher's function, while the second would demand a broadening of his functions and the incorporation of new elements into that function. Again, this possibility raises questions regarding the adequacy of the present training programs of vocational agricultural teachers.

Thus, it was found that the status dilemma of the agricultural teacher reflects the conflicting roles that he is expected to play. As a technical expert, for example, he is supposedly trained to assume leadership; yet in reality he may not. Within the school, he can lead only the children; within the community he must neutral. When rendering service to the out-of-school groups, he must compete with those who are technically more competent. In his relationships with the specialized agricultural educational agencies, his position is subordinate.

The "Vo-Ag" teacher's position as a technical expert was found to be analogous to the position of the general practitioner who is adjunct to the medical specialist, i.e., 'he is a member of the profession but peripheral to the inner core."

The vocational agricultural teacher's teaching role is just as perplexing as his technical role. As a teacher, he is assigned low status. This partly stems from the fact that he is identified with children, and the control of a children's group confers little prestige.

"In sum, the confused status of the "Vo-Ag" teacher is apparent from almost any point of view: as a teacher, he is a male in a field dominated by females; as a technical adviser, he is a general practitioner in a field dominated by specialists; as a community leader, his position is neutral and he is followed only by children and the less successful farmers; as a permanent member of the community, he tends to live between rather than within a single, unified territorial group, and his participation in organized community groups progressively decreases; as a professional man, his techniques are generalized and the tradition which he represents appears to be waning."

Implications for Counseling:

The vocational counselor is frequently seeking technical positions associated with agriculture for the many counselees who would like to be farmers but who have not inherited a farm or do not have the capital investment necessary to compete successfully in farming. The occupation of "Vo-Ag" teacher is an avenue of opportunity which meets this need.

From a different point of view, the occupation is interesting in that, as perceived in this study, the "Vo-Ag" teacher is performing a vocational guidance role. This is similar to the vocational guidance role of the vocational training teacher and the teacher of clerical skills subjects in that these subject areas are ordinarily terminal and lead directly into work for which the school subjects offer specific training. These teachers are (hopefully) in close contact with occupational conditions in their specialities and can advise students realistically.

The "Vo-Ag" teacher has an additional problem in coping with the fact that farming is a declining rather than a growing occupation in terms of manpower needs. For those of his students who may anticipate inheriting a family farm, the "Vo-Ag" teacher's mission is clear-cut and unambiguous. What should he do, however, with the others who aspire to become successful farmers but have limited chances of attaining the goal? A similar problem is faced by music and art teachers. How does one interest students in fields with great potential as satisfying hobbies while discouraging all but the most talented from attempting to compete in earning a living in these fields?

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

"To provide orientation to the field of vocational agriculture, all available literature, including federal and state legislation, bulletins, textbooks and mimeographed material from the Department of Vocational Agricultural Education of Clemson College, were explored." A panel interview was conducted with five teachers of vocational agriculture in order "to set up a kind of 'ideal-type' of teachers of vocational agriculture...."

Cautions:

Generalizations made in this study reflect, for the most part, the author's personal knowledge of the situation. The problems associated with the role and status of the vocational agricultural teacher, as were revealed in this study, warrant further research.

Theoretical Orientation:

"The professions, a congerie of occupations which have as their function the transmission of a body of specialized knowledge to a group of people, sometimes called clients or patients," form the theoretical frame of reference within which the role and status of the vocational agricultural teacher is analyzed.

LAWYER **ABSTRACT** **D.O.T. Code: 110.108**
110.118

Wardwell, Walter I., and Wood, Arthur L. "The Extra-Professional Role of the Lawyer," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 51, No. 4 (January, 1956), pp. 304-307.

Description:

The manner in which an occupation affects one's social obligations has received little attention in the sociological literature so far. The present case study of lawyers attempted to remedy this situation by exploring the lawyer's extra-professional or citizenship role and its theoretical and practical significance.

The professional role of the lawyer---whether he functions as an advocate (pleader in court), attorney (agent or representative in negotiations), or legal counselor (advisor) is constrained by three general sets of obligations. These obligations are set forth by the code of legal ethics and comprise the following: (1) obligations to clients; (2) obligations to colleagues, and (3) obligations to society at large (specifically, in terms of the lawyer's being an officer of the court). The various activities and role encompassed by these three categories are relatively well-defined. The general citizenship role of the lawyer is less clear, however. Often his role as a citizen touches upon the professional one and makes behavior that is acceptable from an ordinary citizen difficult.

A certain standard of conduct that the lawyer maintains in his relationships with persons encountered professionally must also be maintained in some social situations. There are the "extra-technical" relationships with colleagues outside the courtroom. These call for a friendly association on a first name basis.

Clients comprise the second group with whom social relations are somewhat ambiguous. An indefinite line separates the client's legal problems from his personal problems. This situation often puts the lawyer in the position of playing the role of an "amateur psychologist." Some attorneys, in fact, become quite adept at counseling. Others become expert in referring their clients to specialized community agencies. Still others just "get rid of" such problem clients. The extension of client-lawyer relationship into friendship is problematic. Professionally, the lawyer is interested primarily in the client's case, not in his client as a person. If he lets himself become involved emotionally, he may become unable to give effective legal service. Pressures from the client to establish a more personal relationship with the lawyer are inherent in the situation because of the client's fear, anxiety, and psychological dependence on the professional expert.

The third group of people with whom the lawyer deals and develops extra-technical relationships is comprised of court and law enforcement personnel. Too friendly relationships with these persons may be viewed as unethical and, of course, are not considered "extra-technical." Personal friendships, however, do develop and the extent of informal contacts will vary between the lawyers, depending on their type and field of practice.

In connection with the lawyer's citizenship role, the author suggests three societal expectations: (1) It is generally expected that a lawyer is available as a public servant. This usually entails a political office of some sort. Pressures to assume this role are somewhat stronger in small communities than they are in larger cities. (2) It is generally assumed that the lawyers are available to fill a variety of community leadership positions. (3) Lawyers are expected to participate in community, law-related activities, such as legal aide societies.

Interview data with lawyers revealed a wide range of attitudes as to the social pressures surrounding these extra-technical citizenship roles. At one extreme is the lawyer who feels that such roles are "a part of the profession" by virtue of the lawyer's superior knowledge. At the other extreme is the man who is in politics solely to build up his law practice. These attitudes are illustrated by such comments as: "You can't afford to ignore politics....It's not the money in politics; it's the contacts. As a lawyer, it's nice to know people....You won't make a nickel unless people know you are there."

The data revealed that pressure to participate in politics or other community activity varied with the type of practice the lawyer had. The differences were particularly noticeable between individual practitioners and members of well established law firms.

The differences in political activity and type of practices are better understood if one views the situation in terms of career advancement. An associate in an established law firm does not need to attract clients to himself personally and is merely required to do a good technical job on the cases assigned to him. In fact, these firms prefer to have their associates stay away from politics for fear that political views of associates may alienate the clientele. As the associate member advances, he seeks wider contacts within the community. Such a member in the community enhances the firm's "public relations" and will attract clients. If the associate dislikes politics, he can become active in community affairs and in non-political organizations.

The solo practitioner, on the other hand, must establish himself. Usually, this is a difficult task. He needs to be known in the community not merely as a public-minded individual, but also as a lawyer. "A young lawyer can establish this kind of reputation most easily if he goes into politics...." It also provides him with a natural outlet for his talents and brings him more into the public eye than most other kinds of community service.

Conclusions:

The lawyer's extra-professional role is closely related to the organized political unit and to the formally organized groups serving the community. The extra-professional role appears to be surrounded by a sense of urgency---an attribute that does not exist in the case of other occupational groups.

Implications for Counseling:

Since the citizenship role of the lawyer does not call for qualities additional to those which are needed for the performance of occupational duties, the vocational counselor need not be concerned with whether counselees considering law have special abilities in the extra-professional roles described in this study.

The counselor may be more concerned with the indirect effects of his relationships with potential lawyers and lawyers. Frequently, lawyers are members of Congress, legislatures, school boards, and other boards which determine counseling policies. Hence, lawyers may have an indirect part in determining counseling policies. The basic assumptions which lawyers hold about motivation and other aspects of human behavior may be of significance in determining these counseling policies. College counselors who help pre-law students in planning their course programs may suggest courses in psychology, sociology, and anthropology to enable these potential lawyers to gain an understanding of motivation and behavior in addition to the knowledge they acquire in the history and government curricula---disciplines in which pre-law students traditionally prepare themselves.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Some lawyers participate primarily in politics, others primarily in non-political organizations; still others are relatively inactive in community affairs. The differences are related to differences in organization of professional practice. But whether lawyers participate in community affairs as a means to professional success or as an end in itself, the active lawyer is more likely to be thought of as behaving as a lawyer should, i.e., as fulfilling the lawyer's extra-professional role."

Methodology:

A total of 226 lawyers in two communities---a large southern city, and a small New England city---were interviewed at length concerning their professional careers and their community activities. Of special interest were organization of law practice, relation between law practice and community activity, types of activity engaged in, attitudes on certain social issues. The respondents were comprised of lawyers from the New England city and a 40 per cent representative sample of lawyers from the southern city.

Cautions:

Generalization on the basis of this study can only be made with caution since the lawyer population studied was drawn from only two cities.

Theoretical Orientation:

This article is based on the premise that "the influence of a calling on the lives of those who follow it does not cease with the five o'clock whistle, but extends beyond the shop or office to every aspect of existence." (Caplow, Sociology of Work.)

CLERGYMAN
UNDERTAKER

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: 120.108

Fulton, Robert L. "The Clergyman and the Funeral Director: A Study in Role Conflict," Social Forces, Vol. 39, No. 4 (May, 1961), pp. 317-323.

Description:

This study dealt with the attitudes of clergymen of the Protestant and Catholic denominations toward funerals and funeral directors. The Protestant minister was more involved with the living than the dead. In contrast, the Catholic priest saw his main task as conducting a proper service for the dead. The priest stressed the liturgical aspects of the funeral and its meaning for the deceased. The minister placed more emphasis on the meaning of the funeral for the survivors.

The majority of ministers thought that the funeral director should attend to the specifically physical or mechanical aspects of the funeral. Some of the activities cited were: embalming, attending to the legal and social notices, and arranging for transportation and visits. Catholic priests, in addition to mentioning the physical duties, suggested that the duties of the funeral director should involve giving sympathy and emotional support to the bereaved. The Protestand minister felt that the funeral director should consult with him and accept his advice and recommendations about the course and conduct of the funeral. Forty-one per cent of the Protestant ministers in contrast to ten per cent of the Catholic priests felt that the functions of the funeral director and the clergy overlapped. Among those who thought there was overlapping, a much higher proportion of Protestant ministers than Catholic priests thought that it caused confusion.

A majority of the clergy saw the funeral director as occupying a dual role of professional and business man. Thirty-three per cent of the priests and twenty-two per cent of the ministers saw his status as being almost as high as that of a doctor or lawyer.

The clergy did not believe it unethical for funeral directors to advertise their services. There was divided opinion as to whether price advertising was an acceptable practice for the funeral director. Responses were largely dependent upon whether the funeral director was perceived of as a business man or a professional.

Fifty-one per cent of the ministers and forty-one per cent of the priests believed the funeral director exploited or took advantage of a family's grief.

For the most part, clergymen did not meet with funeral directors socially, even though there was continuous contact throughout the years, and even though there was associational contact. This absence of social contact suggested that the clergy do not perceive of funeral directors as status equals.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselees considering different occupations should be aware of the conflicts with other occupations which they may encounter as part of their occupational career. Their job satisfaction may stem, in part, from an ability to successfully cope with such friction which may arise from these role conflicts.

One useful way for a counselee to evaluate the occupation he is considering is to talk with people in occupations experiencing some role conflict with his chosen occupation. If he is considering the occupation of funeral director, he might do well to talk with some clergymen, or if he is considering the occupation of clergyman, he might do well to talk with some funeral directors. This may help to dispel the halo effect surrounding some occupations and may lead to the most realistic decision.

Another useful device of evaluation is for the counselee to sketch out the network of occupational relationships he may expect to be involved in when he has attained his occupational goal. A discussion of this with his counselor may lead to further clarification of the counselee's interests and values.

Scope: Occupations

Author's Abstract:

"Criticism of the funeral director and of funeral practices by the clergy is both intensive and extensive in America. Among the many factors correlated with this negative appraisal of funerary procedures three stand out: the basic religious distinction between the spirit and the flesh; the duality of the funeral director's role; and fear of taint."

Methodology:

An open-ended questionnaire was sent to a sample of clergymen in religious denominations in the United States reporting a membership of one-half million or more in 1958. Slightly over one-third of the 1802 questionnaires sent out were returned. The final analysis of data was limited to white Protestant and Catholic clergy.

Cautions:

Since only about one-third of the questionnaires were returned, it is unlikely that this was an unbiased sample of respondents.

Theoretical Orientation:

Clergymen's criticism of the funeral director arises, in part, from their feeling that he places more emphasis on the body than on the spirit. The funeral director is cast in a dual role---as a business man he is caught up in the mechanics of commerce; but as a professional person, he is identified with the sacred aspects of the funeral. This duality of role results in an ambivalence on the part of the clergy toward the funeral director. This ambivalence is reflected in the tension and anxiety which occur within the funeral complex and in the lack of social contacts between the two groups outside of the funeral home setting.

There is also a fear of taint on the part of some clergymen. "When the funeral director makes his services available to people of different faiths, or relates all funerals past or present in an apparent effort to establish the claim of equal sanctity for all of them, he leaves himself open to the charge of paganism from clergymen of different persuasions."

Wilson, Bryan R. "The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIV, No. 5 (March, 1959), pp. 494-504

Description:

This study is an account of the role of the minister in one of the two principal Pentecostal sects in Great Britain. Initially, the Pentecostal movement had no ministry. The appointment of honorary pastors and church leaders represented the first step in the development of a ministerial group which was separate from the rank and file of revivalists. Finally, a formal structure developed, with ministers being appointed by headquarters after training in the movement's own Bible School. The honorary pastor had been a "Spirit-led" brother, while the minister was a formal appointee. The movement thus became an established sect, rather than simply a revival campaign. However, revival meetings are still used as the chief means of recruiting new members.

Bureaucratization has posed some difficult problems for the movement, some of which are revealed by contradictions with which the minister must deal:

1. In accordance with the tenets of Pentecostalism, the minister must not check spontaneous expression. Yet, he must also keep order and prevent expression which might challenge his own leadership.
2. The minister must support the ideal of the priesthood of all believers, while giving guidance to a congregation generally comprised of people who have limited ability, intelligence, and articulateness.
3. The minister must persuade new revival-recruited members to accept stable church life. The emotionalism of the revival and the routine of the church are in sharp contrast; yet, he must bridge this gap.
4. He must know how to check emotional demonstrations in his congregation which have been instigated by individuals or cliques for their own purposes. This must be done, however, without giving offense, taking sides, or interfering with the "proper manifestations" of the Holy Ghost.
5. The minister is specifically committed to headquarters, and his preaching is stringently circumscribed by formal rules. The congregation, on the other hand, is not similarly committed. No attempt is made to insure correct knowledge of the doctrine in the laity. They need to know little more than that they are born-again believers. The minister must bridge this gap between these two social systems of which he is a part.
6. In relation to his congregation, the minister's role is diffuse and all-embracing; but in relation to headquarters, it is specific and calculated. He must operate with the freedom of "Spirit-direction" of his church, and yet appear meticulous to headquarters.
7. The minister must be informal and friendly with everyone in his

congregation and, at the same time, must maintain his own status.

8. He must not become the property of any one clique from which others are excluded. On the other hand, he must not let cliques meet too often without his supervision because they might get out of control.
9. The minister enjoys a relatively high status as a Pentacostalist, but his social status in the community is low.
10. His status as a minister is equivocal as far as the ministerial profession is concerned.

"The status of the Pentecostal minister is contradictory because of a lack of consensus among those for whom his role has significance. It is insecurely fixed in the hierarchy of the organization, when the disparity of formal structure and ideological committment is taken into account; it lacks distinctive ideological support; and it is unrecognized within the profession to which it might be said to belong. The contradictions in his status arise from the marginality of his role, both within the profession and within the movement, which has itself a certain marginality to the social order, and which has not yet passed from the status of sect to that of denomination."

Implications for Counseling:

In general, individuals considering the occupation of clergyman rarely view the vocational counselor as a resource in career decision-making. They view their possible choice as a "calling" and turn for help in the decision-making process to their pastors. Counselors are likely to be involved with these individuals only in terms of required counseling having to do with the granting of financial benefits.

Counseling of students pursuing college and other school programs toward the goal of clergymen is also usually carried on by the clergymen on the faculties of these schools. Vocational counselors may, however, be involved in connection with required counseling where financial benefits are being received by the students. Students in these situations tend to see their progress in terms of their conformity with the principles of the denomination and God's will, and it is difficult for them to evaluate their progress on the more prosaic dimension of academic progress. For the vocational counselor to attempt to require the counselee to think in terms of the usual criteria for judging academic and occupational progress is usually fruitless.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The Pentecostal movement is the most recent widespread separatist movement in Christian fundamentalism, and Pentecostal groups in Great Britain have gradually, even if only partially, followed the familiar process of passing from sects to denominations; one feature of this development has been the acceptance of permanent, paid ministers. The movement still retains a distinctly sectarian ideology but has recruited by revivalism a less radically sectarian clientele. Its ministers have become the guardians of a sectarian ethic in a denominationalizing organization, in which the ministry itself is, structurally, one of the most distinctly denominational elements. The Pentecostal minister, as a consequence,

suffers severe role conflicts, additional to those generally experienced in the ministerial profession, and acute contradictions of status."

Methodology:

Data were gathered by means of concealed and revealed participant observation in a number of congregations, and in two revival campaigns of the Elim Foursquare Gospel Alliance in Great Britain. Some ministers in this sect were informally interviewed.

Cautions:

Although the generalizations are probably applicable to most low status Pentecostal groups, they have been made on the basis of a limited set of observations. Some ministers were interviewed, and some congregations and revival meetings were observed in one of the groups of the Pentecostal movement in Great Britain.

Theoretical Orientation:

Ministers in religious movements undergoing the transition from sect to denomination occupy marginal positions within the movement, the community, and the profession. They suffer from personal tensions generated by a conflict between ideological and formal structure requirements. The minister is faced with the problem of maintaining the image of a charismatic leader while acting as a bureaucrat.

REPORTER, NEWSPAPERMAN **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 132.268

Breed, Warren. "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," Social Forces, Vol. 33 (May, 1955), pp. 326-335.

Description:

How the "policy" of a newspaper is maintained, and when it is bypassed are the subjects for discussion in this article. The term "policy" is defined "as the more or less consistent orientation shown by a paper, not only in its editorial but in its news columns and headlines as well, concerning selected issues and events." The policy is being maintained despite the fact that it contradicts journalistic norms, that the staff reporters are known to personally disagree with it, and executives cannot legitimately command adherence to it.

How the Staff Learns Policy:

The new reporter learns what the "policy" of his newspaper is along with the norms and values attached to his status. He first discovers "policy" as he reads through his paper and notices a certain slanting in the reporting of facts. For example, in the south, a reporter notices that "Republicans are treated in a 'different' way in his paper's columns than are Democrats." He must slant his coverage of these groups to conform to his paper's policy. This is standard procedure.

Should the novice fail to discover the policy by this reading method, certain remedial editorial actions will follow. One reporter commented when interviewed: "If things are blue-pencilled consistently...you learn [that] he (the editor) has a prejudice in that regard." Overt expressions of reprimand are infrequent due to the oblique nature of the policy. The notion of disapproval is, nevertheless, conveyed by a shake of the head, by a call into the boss' office, or by the fact that the story does not get printed.

The new reporter learns to obtain guidance about the characteristics, interests, and affiliations of the executives through gossiping with the more experienced, long time reporters. Or he may note how the executive voices his opinions when he meets significant persons. In some instances, attending and observing at conferences when journalistic matters---i.e., reliability of information, newsworthiness, possible 'angles' and other news tactics---are being discussed, prove useful.

Reasons for Conforming to Policy:

Six reasons appear to be significant in achieving conformity to the policy of the newspaper. They are:

1. Institutional authority and sanctions: Although the publisher has the power to demand compliance from the staff, he is deterred from exercising it by the following: (a) The newspaper is considered a quasi-public enterprise, protected by the First Amendment. (b) Firing is a rare phenomenon in news-

paper circles. (c) The American Newspaper Guild contracts provide for severance pay. It is believed that the fear of sanctions rather than their actual invocation brings about conformity among the newspaper reporters.

Editors can simply ignore the stories that may create deviant reaction, or they may change the story when it reaches the city desk, citing extraneous reasons, such as pressure for time and space, for the change.

2. Feelings of obligation and esteem for superiors: Frequently, reporters, feeling obligated to the paper for giving them an opportunity to work, show their appreciation by conforming to its standards. Similarly, young reporters show their admiration and gratitude toward certain old timers who have served them as models by conforming to established standards in return for their favors.

3. Mobility aspirations: The interview data reveals that all young reporters aspire to higher status. They know that 'bucking policy constitutes a serious bar to this goal." For some people the newspaper job is seen as a stepping stone to more lucrative public relations, advertising, or free-lancing jobs. The reputation for being a trouble maker could seriously hamper mobility strivings.

4. Absence of conflicting group allegiance: The American Newspaper Guild has not interfered in such internal matters as policy. "It has stressed the business unionism and political interests external to the newsroom."

5. The pleasant nature of the activity: The newsroom provides a friendly, congenial working atmosphere; the staff reporter's low status is minimized in relation to the executives; the staff appreciates his work. There are many non-economic rewards associated with the job; he is a member of a closely knit work group; he deals with important matters; he is close to big decisions Morale is high among newsmen, and, despite the relatively low pay, the staff reporter feels that he is an integral part of a vital organization.

6. News becomes a value: Newspaper men are constantly out to get more news. Their energies are channeled toward this objective; they seldom indulge in talk about ethics, objectivity, and the relative value of various papers. The harmony between executives and staff is reinforced by their common interest in news.

The executives, older reporters, and colleagues comprise the new reporter's reference group. "Although not yet one of them /he/ shares their norms and thus, his performance comes to resemble theirs." The reference group itself is unable to change the existing policy to any great extent, because first, it is the group which is charged with carrying out policy, and second, the publisher, who is the policy maker, is often unaware of the problems created by the delicate nature of the policy itself.

Situations Permitting Deviation:

Conforming to policy is expected in the newsroom. Still, on occasion, an anti-policy story does get printed. An analysis of the conditions surrounding the journalistic career of the reporter involved may help to explain this rare phenomenon.

The new reporter is seen as going through three distinct stages of career development. First there is the "cub-stage"---the first few months or year in which he learns the techniques and the policy, and during which most of his writing consists of short, non-policy stories. The second is the "wiring-in" stage. During this period, the reporter continues to assimilate the newsroom's norms, and strengthens his informal relationships. Finally he reaches the "star" or "veteran" stage, in which he is defined as a "full, responsible member of the group, sees its goals as his, and can be counted on to handle policy sympathetically."

Several conditions facilitate the printing of a deviant story: (1) The norms surrounding the policy are not quite clear. There seems to be a twilight zone which permits a range of deviations. (2) Executives are often ignorant of the facts surrounding a particular news item. Thus, the reporter who covers the story has a freer hand in deciding whom to interview and whom to ignore. (3) Similarly, the reporter may "plant" a story about a particular issue---one which is objected to by the policy---in another paper with the connivance of a friendly reporter, and then "submit it to his own editor, pleading the story is now too big to ignore." (4) News stories may be classified into four types on the basis of origin. These are: the policy or campaign story, the assigned story, the beat story, and the story initiated by the staff. The autonomy of the reporter is greater with the latter types than with the former. In the campaign story, the reporter is working directly under the executives and has little writing freedom. An assigned story is handed out by the city editor, seldom deals with policy matters, and the reporter has somewhat more discretion in this type. In the case of the beat story, the function of the reporter changes; no editor intervenes between him and his source, the police. In a sense, he assumes the editor's function; it is he who, to a marked degree, can select which angles to pursue and which to ignore. Since the reporter originates the story, it affords him maximum writing freedom. Reporters who are usually overloaded with work seldom get a chance to initiate this type of story; therefore the problems associated with it are rare. (5) Reporters with "star" status can get deviant stories in print much more easily than beginners. Prestige differences, for instances, explain why Walter Winchell, during the Roosevelt administration, was able to praise the president regularly, while his boss, Mr. Hearst, was strongly critical of his regime.

Consequences of the Pattern:

As long as the conformity pattern is maintained, the publishing of the paper goes smoothly. This is the most important general consequence. Adherence to policy protects property and class interests for certain groups. For the general public, however, this may bring biased news coverage. In some instances, important information may be withheld from the public, and in this respect, conformity becomes dysfunctional.

Summary:

The dynamic socio-cultural situation in the newsroom serves to maintain the publisher's policy. The new reporter conforms to the policy because "his source of rewards is located not among the readers, who are manifestly his clients, but among his colleagues and superiors. Instead of adhering to societal and professional ideals, he re-defines his values to the more pragmatic level of the newsroom group. He thereby gains not only status rewards, but also acceptance in a solitary group engaged in interesting, varied, and sometimes important work."

Biased reporting, in the eyes of the critics, is contrary to the notion of "free and responsible press," and is dysfunctional to the needs of democracy. "Any important change toward a more 'free and responsible press' must stem from various possible pressures on the publisher, who epitomizes the policy making and coordinating role."

Implications for Counseling:

Because of the nature of writing activities, counselees interested in careers as newspaper reporters are likely to be more sophisticated than their peers, and it would be rare to find one so naive as not to be aware of pressures to slant their reporting in the direction required by the establishment. It appears likely that, in the long run, reporters will approach occupational adjustment by seeking employment on newspapers with policies reasonably congruent with their own philosophies.

This study has implications for many other occupations in which there are informal, unwritten policies dictating differential treatment of customers, clients,or suppliers. Usually this differential treatment is traceable to differences in the power and prestige of various groups. This problem is too broad for vocational counselors to discuss with each of their counselees. It might be discussed in social studies classes and in classes on occupations. Since this situation is a natural correlate of the differential distribution of power and prestige in society, it cannot be completely remedied, but individuals should at least be made aware of this problem.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

"The present data come from writer's newspaper experience and from intensive interviews with some 120 newsmen, mostly in the northeastern quarter of the country. The sample was not random, and no claim is made for representativeness.... The newspapers were chosen to fit a 'middle-sized' group, defined as those with 10,000 to 100,000 daily circulation. Interviews averaged well over an hour in duration.

Cautions:

The generalizations of this study are based on a non-representative sample of newspaper reporters in the United States.

Theoretical Orientation:

The mode of functional analysis provides the theoretical frame of reference for the organization of the data. "A functional analysis, designed to locate sources of persistence of a pattern, can also indicate points of strain at which a structural change may occur." (Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1949, pp. 49-61.)

COMMERCIAL ARTIST **ABSTRACT** **D.O.T. Code: 141.081**

Griff, Mason. "The Commercial Artist: A Study in Role Conflict and Career Development." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1958.*

Description:

This study sought to ascertain whether or not role conflict existed when a person who was trained as a fine artist worked in the commercial art field.

The initial assumption of role conflict was made upon the interview results with seventy-five art students attending a Chicago commercial art institute. The responses apparently have indicated "the distinct antipathy of many students toward commercial art because they believed it was detrimental to the creative ability of artists and would result in a prostitution of their talents." Results of this research, however, rejected the notion of role conflict in this form. Instead, several alternate hypotheses were proposed:

(1) Role conflict, if it were to exist, "would engender intense mental suffering so that the successful carrying out of the role of commercial artist would be accomplished at considerable expense to the psyche." Role conflict, then, could be observable by the inconsistent behavior of the individual. The notion of role conflict could be seen as a continuum running from the extreme case of neurosis to an awareness of the conflict without the mental disturbances.

(2) The possibility exists that students who were selected and interviewed in this study were not representative of the art student body in general.

(3) There exists a selective process whereby individuals subscribing to a "fine artist" ideology enter a different field after graduation, i.e., they would, for instance, enter art education, remain fine artists, and attempt to live from the sale of their paintings, or leave the field of art for some other livelihood.

The research evidence, however, ruled out the hypothesis "that individuals with a high degree of attachment to art do not enter the commercial art field." It was found that those who enter "imbued with the classical notion of the fine arts, subsequently experience conflict and resolve it in various ways." Several factors explained this phenomenon. First, the symbols used to define the field as an acceptable occupation in which the artist can work, have changed over time. The artists who subscribed to the classical ideology of fine art, yet entered the field, did so at a time when antagonisms between commercial and fine art were not as great as they are today. These persons are now in the upper age brackets, generally. Second, the field was not as developed and specialized as it is today. Furthermore, the master painters who provided role models for the younger generation worked their way up from and out of the field of commercial art. It is forgotten now, however, that men like Winslow Homer and Remington "had worked in commercial art when the occupation did not make the conflicting demands that it does today. For example, during the time of Homer and Remington, the artist painted in the field and, for the most part, painted what he wanted to and then sold his paintings to the client, usually magazines." In contrast today, the artist must paint according to the client's wishes. Finally, the institutions connected with the occupation, such as art studios and advertising agencies were either non-existent or if they did exist, did not control the artist to the extent they do today.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

A major finding of this research was that the occupation of commercial artist became increasingly specialized as the division of labor increased. In its development it followed many of the characteristics of an "organic society" as outlined by Emile Durkheim in The Division of Labor.* With this increased division of labor, a number of problems have emerged. For example, the research evidence demonstrated that many artists lack a comprehension of the part they play in the total complex of the advertising field. The exception may be the free-lance artist who works on an illustration from the beginning, then follows it through with the client to its final dispatching to the printer. The majority of commercial artists are not familiar with the chain of events that follows the completion of their contribution; they are confined to one very specific aspect of the total work.

The increasing division of labor has been accompanied by the commercial artists' attempt to professionalize their occupation. "Organizations have emerged which are prerequisites to reaching professionalism;...These organizations act as spokesmen for the artists vis-a-vis society at large." Some of these professional organizations have already begun to set up standards to be used as a guide in defining the role of the commercial artist. It may be that eventually these standards will be used to control membership into the group as well as regulate the conduct of individuals comprising the group. At present, committees already exist which protect the artist's interest from the whims of clients. For example, attempts have been made to protect the finished product of the artist, after its purchase, from being used indiscriminately as illustration whenever and however the client wishes.

The trend toward professionalization is further illustrated by the increase in the number of formalized relationships among the various institutions, including art studios, art and advertising agencies, and clients. For example, it is taken for granted that under no circumstances will an art studio communicate with the client directly---that matter is handled by the advertising agency. Accompanying the formalization of relationships is the possibility of distorting communications between the various institutions.

The development of career patterns in the occupation followed the trend toward formalization, too. Whereas recruitment and training of the commercial artist was left to chance in the past, today, commercial art schools train their students in the basic techniques used in the field, and these schools make conscious efforts to attract individuals to the occupational field.

Implications for Counseling:

It is not clear that a role conflict exists for students trained in fine art who enter the commercial art field because: (1) it is widely known that few artists can earn a living in the fine arts field; (2) most high school art curricula include a large block of subject matter drawn from the commercial art field; (3) students in a commercial art school have, by enrolling in the school, overtly accepted the artistic limitations of the commercial art field.

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*First English translation was published in 1933 by The Macmillan Company. The original written in French was first published in 1893 under the title De la division du travail social.

Greater problems are encountered in the commercial art field with the subjectivity of the judgments made by supervisors. The insecurity of supervisors in the art field leads some of them to fail to properly acknowledge, much less encourage, talent among their employees. As a consequence, workers in this field have difficulty in appraising the quality of their own work. This leads to a confused self concept, and such individuals may seek vocational counseling to make a decision as to whether or not to remain in the commercial art field.

Vocational counselors will encounter a few clients, completely without talent, who aspire to a career in the commercial art field. They are encouraged by over-enthusiastic advertising from a few correspondence schools which offer correspondence courses in commercial art.

Ordinarily, the vocational counselor is not sufficiently well versed in appraising art ability to introduce his own judgment. It is desirable, however, to have all clients interested in the art field bring in samples of their work. Over a period of time, the counselor can develop sufficient sophistication to discriminate, at least at the top and bottom of the continuum, those with talent from those completely devoid of it.

In the opinion of this writer, none of the art ability tests may be safely used in deciding whether the counselee should or should not choose an art career. The judgment of the counselee's art instructor or some other professional artist is the most useful criteria.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Interviews were conducted with seventy-five students attending a Chicago commercial art institute.

Cautions:

The number of students comprising the sample was small. The generalizations refer to conditions prevailing in a particular setting at the time the study was made.

Theoretical Orientation:

This research centered on commercial artists who were confronted with conflicting ideologies. It was assumed that these persons had been trained as fine artists whose basic tenents were derived from aesthetic values, and who were oriented toward individual creativity. At the same time, they were engaged to work in the field of commercial art, and were compelled to take into consideration the impersonal demands of the market, and the need to comply with those demands.

ACTORS AND ACTRESSES **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 150.048

Wilhelm, Sidney, and Sjoberg, Gideon. "The Social Characteristics of Entertainers," Social Forces, Vol. 37, No. 1 (October, 1958), pp. 71-76.

Description:

It seems that unstable personality attributes are functionally related to success in the entertainment world which, in turn, demands that the occupation reinforce this instability. The mass media tend to over-emphasize the familial disorganization, personal instability, and upward social mobility characteristics of entertainers in the United States. The frequency of unhappy childhoods, and the high rate of divorce among members of the occupation undoubtedly contributes to the notion of instability.

An analysis of the socio-economic background characteristics of the entertainers reveals that the occupation---a marginal profession---does indeed provide an avenue of upward mobility for many disadvantaged groups. The fact that there is upward mobility is constantly brought to the attention of the American public in order to maintain the ideology of an open-class system.

There is no clear-cut formula for achieving and maintaining success and high status. The occupation has no well-defined educational standards. Chance is an important variable in success. Personal instability and/or a lower-class socio-economic background seem to be advantageous.

The fact that modern mass entertainment tends to emphasize the portrayal of personal problems (such as love and marriage) of the population may explain the recruitment of those persons who have experienced such problems themselves. It may be that individuals in the entertainment field frequently come to play roles which are similar to those they have experienced in "real life." Much of the humor in contemporary America, for example the kind that is displayed by Jackie Gleason or Phil Silvers, does, in fact, rest upon the dramatization of the difficulties encountered by the "man in the street."

The social origins of the entertainers may explain in part the nature of current entertainment taste in America. Nowadays, entertainment is oriented toward gaining the interest in the general public, and to do so, it is advantageous for entertainers to have experienced many of the problems with which the mass audience is concerned. It is also possible that recruitment of persons from the lower socio-economic groups has encouraged the diffusion of the cultural norms of these persons into broader society. The pattern of relatively fewer moral constraints in matters of sex is an example.

Implications for Counseling:

The entertainment world is of concern to vocational counselors primarily because there are many marginally qualified individuals who become fixated on one of the occupations comprising the entertainment field. Since there are no well established educational or other standards, it is difficult for either the counselor or the client to objectively evaluate the individual's chances. In many cases, the counselor may believe that the client lacks the talent necessary for success, but since there is no objective way to establish this---other than through a process of trial and error, there is no legitimate way in which the counselor can attempt to influence the client away from this dream world and toward what, to the counselor, appears to be a more promising goal.

As indicated in this article, the mass media's emphasis on a rapid rise to fame sheerly on the basis of face, figure, untrained singing voice, or personal attractiveness encourages those clients having nothing substantial to offer the world of work and no inclination to study or work to attain necessary skills, to fix upon this goal.

Scope: Occupational Fields

Methodology:

A sample of 156 "American reared" entertainers who were the subject of articles appearing in selected popular magazines during the period of 1950-1956 were selected for study. In addition, bibliographies and standard reference sources, such as Who's Who in America were also consulted. The data on the entertainers' social characteristics were obtained by the method of content analysis. Factual information was obtained by the use of a mailed questionnaire.

Cautions:

The sample chosen for this study may not be a representative sample of entertainers in the United States. The sources of data---magazine articles, bibliographies, and reference books---probably do not give an accurate picture of the facts since they were written to please their readers rather than to report unbiased facts.

Theoretical Orientation:

"Although entertainers as a group may not be important in terms of sheer numbers, they are of crucial symbolic significance in American society." In a sense, the spectacular aspects of their careers and rise to fame serve to maintain the myth of opportunity and success in life.

Becker, Howard S. "The Professional Dance Musician and his Audience," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII (September, 1951), pp. 136-144.

Description:

It is suggested that a great deal of conflict and hostility exist among workers in service occupations and their clients. The conflict stems from the fact that each party has a different opinion as to how the particular work or service should be performed. The client whose involvement with the occupation is merely casual attempts to control the worker's activity. The worker has a fairly good idea about his work and about himself as a worker and so resents the customer/client's interference. He regards him as an ignorant outsider, a "square." The intensity of conflict between the service worker and client increases as the former is faced with the dilemma: should he preserve his self-respect and the respect of his colleagues or should he abide, to some extent, by the client's wishes since his livelihood--his daily bread--depends on the client's patronage? A group of jazz musicians well illustrate these conflicts.

According to standards of this group, the only good jazz music worth playing is that music "which is produced without reference to the demands of outsiders." Yet, the musician must endure interference from employers and the audience, and must vary his style according to their wishes. By so doing, he sacrifices the respect of other musicians, and thus, in most cases, his self-respect. "If he remains true to his standards, he is doomed to failure in larger society."

Musicians see themselves as endowed with a special gift. This gift, which cannot be acquired by education, differentiates them from non-musicians. Since the musician believes himself to be different and "better" than the rest of society, he feels he is not obligated to follow norms and conventions of outsiders. The non-musician, the "square," is regarded as an ignorant, intolerant person who lacks any understanding of the musician's way of life. The "square" is to be feared, however, since he represents the pressures that force the musician to play "inartistically." Because he does not understand music, he judges music "by standards which are foreign to musicians and not respected by them." A saxophone player who went "commercial" (i.e., who decided to follow the tastes of his audience) commented as follows:

> It doesn't make any difference what we play, the way we do it. It's so simple that anyone who's been playing longer than a month could handle it......... But the people don't care. As long as they can hear the drum they're all right.

Although the commercial and the jazz musician differ in their attitude toward the audience, they agree in their "contempt for and dislike of the square audience whose fault it is that musicians must 'go commercial' in order to succeed."

The commercial musician sacrifices self-respect and the respect of his colleagues (i.e., the rewards of artistic behavior "for the more substantial rewards of steady work, higher income, and the prestige enjoyed by the man who 'goes commercial.' " One commercial musician made these comments:

> This is something I learned about three years ago. If you want to make any money you gotta please the squares. They're the ones that pay the bills, and you gotta play for them....I want to live good, I want to make some money; I want a car, you know. How long can you fight it?

The jazz player wants to satisfy his audience just as much as the commercial musician; yet, he believes that he should not be swayed by their demands. Somewhat inconsistent with this belief is the fact that he does take his audiences' likes and dislikes into consideration. This inconsistency is revealed by the following comments:

> I enjoy playing more when there's someone to play for. You kind of feel like there isn't much purpose in playing if there's nobody there to hear you. I mean, after all, that's what music's for---for people to hear and get enjoyment from. That's why I don't mind playing corny too much. If anyone enjoys it, then I kind of get a kick out of it.

The musician's unconventional behavior and his "isolation" and/or "self-segregation" from the audience is conceived of as a mode of adjustment to the situation which compels him to sacrifice his artistic standards. The primary function of this type of behavior is to protect the musician from the "square" audience's interference and, by extension, that of society at large.

Isolation from the audience is achieved not only by means of physical barriers, (i.e., the musician may be seated on a podium or may be separated from the audience by a railing, etc.), but also by means of certain symbolic expressions. For instance, the musician habitually avoids meeting the eyes of his audience. The use of the occupational slang, which readily "identifies the man who can use it properly as someone who is not a square," is another method of self-segregation.

Implications for Counseling:

The dance band musician is one of the most dramatic examples of an occupation which creates a different way of life for its members. With the exception of a few positions in well established name bands, it is primarily a young man's occupation.

Vocational counselors are most likely to be concerned with the individual, moving out of the young-man category who seeks counseling in order to decide upon an alternate occupation. Some of the specific pressures which make the continuance of the dance band career infeasible for the musician are: (1) his tiring of traveling; (2) family responsibilities which make constant traveling impractical; (3) the decrease in local night spot jobs for the band with which he is associated as new bands become popular; (4) finding the life style of the dance band musician less romantic and appealing with increasing age.

Finding a new career is often difficult because there are few transfer possibilities from this occupation, aside from teaching music.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Members of service occupations are subject to the interference of clients at their work. In the meeting of a professional whose self is deeply involved in his work and a more casually involved customer conflict arises from the professional's feeling that outsiders neither are capable nor possess the right to judge their performance. Dance musicians feel themselves to be different from their audiences--people who lack understanding and who should have no control over their work, but who in fact exert great control. Musicians feel isolated from society and increase this isolation through a process of self-segregation."

Methodology:

"The analysis is based on materials gathered during eighteen months of interviewing and participant observation."

Cautions:

Unfortunately, the author gives very little information about his research methods and sources of information. Nevertheless, the theoretical approach suggested here is of significance.

Theoretical Orientation:

A distinguishing characteristic of service occupations is the fact that the worker is in more-or-less direct and personal contact with the client for whom he performs the service. Consequently, the client is able to and attempts to control the mode or quality of service performed by the worker. A good deal of conflict and hostility result from the interference of the casual client whose viewpoint as to how the service should be performed is usually different from that of the worker "whose full-time activity is centered around the occupation and whose self is to some degree involved in it."

The study of a group of professional dance musicians illustrates the extent of the conflict between the worker and the ultimate consumer of the product.

MUSICIAN, INSTRUMENTAL **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 152.048

Westby, David L. "The Career Experience of the Symphony Musician," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 3 (March, 1960), pp. 223-230.

Description:

This paper describes the career aspirations and career experience of a selected group of symphony musicians in the organizational context of symphonic music in the United States.

Status and Mobility:

The occupational world of the professional symphony musician is comprised of an "array of symphony orchestras in major cities." Each specific orchestra is endowed with a certain amount of stable prestige, "and the entire array /is/ ranged on a status hierarchy roughly corresponding to (1) the relative wage scale, and (2) the length of the 'season,' the top orchestras having the highest wages and the longest season." The symphony orchestras of New York, Philadelphia, and Boston are at the top of the status hierarchy; on the bottom are the various "civic" and semi-professional orchestras in which the musicians seldom get paid.

Among professional musicians, the status and pattern of financial rewards associated with a particular orchestra are well known. Since the top fifteen or twenty orchestras are geographically distributed throughout the United States, the realization of one's career expectations invariably entails considerable geographical mobility. Upward mobility may be achieved by moving from one symphony orchestra to another along the prestige hierarchy. Prestige difference among orchestras, however, is not the sole determinant of mobility. Personality of potential colleagues or idiosyncracies of the conductor may affect the musician's mobility decision.

The specific positions within the orchestra are also ranked on a status scale. The principal chairs in the string section, and the chairs of the "first men" in the case of the wind instruments rank on top. These positions command roughly twice the salary of others within the same section. The individual's position in the section also becomes a factor influencing career mobility. Positional movement within the section can be an important source of job satisfaction, or it can indicate status deprivation if the musician is not moved.

Possibilities for finding career satisfaction in related spheres such as chamber groups, opera and ballet orchestras, the popular music field, or the opportunity for becoming a soloist depend upon one's specialty. For the string player, opportunities in the popular field are few, and chances of becoming a soloist or full-time member of a quartet that pays its own way are fewer.

The situation is different in the case of the wind player. "There are always jobs available and most symphony wind players augment their incomes substantially by playing in popular orchestras, jazz bands, combos, etc." These opportunities may vary according to the demands for different wind instruments.

The musician's opportunity for upward career mobility is affected by the particular hiring and promotion policy of the orchestra in question. Top orchestras generally hire men under 35 years of age. This means that the symphony musician must achieve success early, preferably before age 35, or at least by age 40. The second important factor that influences the musician's geographic mobility is the policy by which principals and the "first men" are selected. Generally, these positions are seldom filled from within. This practice serves to encourage inter-orchestra mobility and to preserve the authority associated with the position.

The criteria of principal and "first man" selection combined with the prestige grading of orchestras means that a musician's potential career opportunities can include "(1) a limited range within the orchestra; up to, but probably not including, the first chair jobs; (2) positions in higher ranking orchestras, with certain exceptions---section principals would seldom accept section jobs in higher ranked orchestras; (3) in some cases, higher status positions in lower ranked orchestras---this almost always would mean a section man accepting a principalship or soloist job in the lower ranked orchestra." Since the number of orchestras offering suitable career opportunities are relatively few, knowledge about potential openings tends to be encyclopedic, i.e., mobile musicians tend to know "the approximate ages, professional history and ability of most of the incumbents of what, from their perspective, are desirable jobs, and...in some cases whether there is an inclination to quit, and the character of relations with the conductor." The advancement of the musician does not follow an orderly pattern of graded promotion upon the presentation of one's formal credentials. Rather, one carefully awaits the opportunity that may appear but once in a lifetime.

Occupational Identification and Aspiration:

The extraordinarily long training period of the symphony musician results (1) in his isolation from other occupational experiences and (2) strong commitment to the occupation from childhood on. Isolation from other occupational experiences is perpetuated by the mode of training---i.e., the conservatory, and by the musician's extensive social and geographic mobility.

Young musicians, particularly the violinists, tend to have high aspirations and hope for unrealistic goals. Many hope to become soloists. After a few years of professional experience in the orchestra and without noticeable success, the aspirations of these men lessen. The following comments express the inner struggle typical of string players beginning to sense the futility of their career aspirations:

> My problem is that I always have ambition to be a soloist, but that's your ideal point of view. You always have to make adjustments to live life or you drive yourself to destruction.... I wanted to be a soloist but I know now there is not enough space for that. So I chose the orchestra and I'm pretty happy about playing in it....You can get some satisfaction playing in the orchestra: you can see the standard of a solo piece is higher. You can hear yourself---you are more of an individual.

As the musician grows older, his professional identification begins to erode, his talent begins to fade. His value to the symphony organization diminishes, particularly in terms of future potential. The erosion of one's occupational identity means a concomitant resignation from the struggle for certain organizational and occupational values. In the case of the symphony musician, it may mean that (1) the individual comes to regard his job as permanent rather than as a stepping stone to something better; and (2) the gap in communications and differences in values between the younger and older musicians widens. The younger musicians tend to focus on the nature of the work, extending their social life to professional colleagues. In contrast, "the older musicians become psychologically estranged from formerly held mobility aspirations." In the orchestra studied, there was a fairly well-developed schism: "the younger musicians, living in quasi-bohemian style /have/ become, in the eyes of the settled, community-involved man, 'characters,' and 'queers'...The older men, on the other hand /were/ defined by the younger as defectors from artistic and professional values."

Implications for Counseling:

In the course of their careers, practically all symphony musicians have done solo work---as amateurs, if not as professionals---so that not having the opportunity to perform in a role from which they have derived satisfaction may be a frustration.

High school counselors will be concerned with the problem of fantasy choices in this area since symphony music is encouraged so strongly as an extracurricular activity in many schools. Young people who are successful in school orchestras may decide on the goal of symphony musician when the competition is such that the goal may not be realizable.

Vocational counselors may also encounter musicians in the low prestige, underpaid, short-season orchestras who need help in planning second careers as an insurance against the insecurities of their positions and as a means of augmenting their income with part-time and seasonal jobs.

A few symphony musicians seek the security of public school music teaching. This position involves the completion of an organized educational curriculum, and the vocational counselor may be helpful in outlining the necessary steps for completion of such a curriculum.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Seventy formal interviews were held with members of a top ranking symphony orchestra during the winter of 1956-57.

Cautions:

Since no comparative data on other orchestras are available, the findings of this research "must be regarded as provisional and suggestive rather than as pronouncements of finality.

Theoretical Orientation:

Point of departure is the notion that the symphony musician is faced with the problem of reconciling his idealized self-image as a gifted and highly skilled artist with the realities of the occupational life. In the context of work he is caught between the competing forces of public apathy, the management-dominated labor market, and the somewhat unfriendly union. As a result, the symphony musician experiences chronic anxiety concerning his life chances; he feels that such a situation "is inconsistent with the image of the musician as the bearer of the highest kind of aesthetic value which he offers for the enrichment of the community."

MUSIC COMPOSER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 152.088

Dennison, J. Nash. "The Socialization of the Artist: The American Composer," Social Forces, Vol. 35, No. 4 (May, 1957), pp. 307-313.

Description:

Although our society emphasizes the achievement characteristic of roles, it is asserted that some selective processes still operate in the training and directing of individuals to certain roles. "This paper attempts to show that even in one of the least necessary vocational roles in our society---the composition of serious music---such forces operate in recruiting personnel."

The role situation of the American composer suggests that the recruit, in addition to having the ability or talent to compose music, must be able to (1) work in the face of social non-support, (2) assume certain other vocational roles at the same time, and (3) pursue a considerably solitary activity.

The following complex selective factors presumably influence the socialization process of the composer:

1. Inheritance of some general trait, such as 'musicality'
2. Male sex
3. Membership in some "Old World" ethnic group
4. Relatively high social status
5. Family valuation of musicality, especially in the age period 0-12
6. Structural stability in the family of orientation (i.e., parental family)
7. Subject's greater closeness to mother than father during childhood years
8. Subject's role in family is that of an indulged and precocious personality
9. Subject's role in relation to his peers is on the fringe
10. Subject is precocious in musical development, his first musical activities being instrumental.

None of these factors encourage the development of a personality trait which would facilitate considerable role versatility. In fact, Rorschach test results suggest that personality rigidity prevails among even the most versatile composers.

It is speculated that selective factors such as sex, birth order in the family, childhood peer groups, and, perhaps, precocity of the person's musical development are connected with the ability to face a hostile or indifferent social environment. It may be that encouragement given to the precocious musical development of the would-be composer is, in turn, the factor which sets him apart from the peer group.

Learning theory---rewarding one type of response---accounts for the development of the drive to compose. The supposedly hereditary trait of musicality is constantly reinforced by the explicit valuation of musicality in the person's family.

The fact that a person having certain constitutional factors and being placed in such an environment becomes a composer may be explained by two types of "accidental" factors. (1) It may be a matter of "chance;" or (2) it may be "through the competitive process involved in the achievement of roles." Margaret Mead outlined the operation of such a process in the value system of society as follows:

> Each society approximates in its chief emphasis one of the many possible types of human behaviour. Those individuals who show this type of personality will be its leaders and saints; ...those who have perversely seized upon some perfectly alien point of view, it will sometimes lock up in asylums, ...burn as heretics, or possibly permit to live out a starving existence as an artist. ("Growing up in New Guinea," in From the South Seas, New York: Wm. Morrow & Co., Inc., 1939, p. 227.)

Thus, it may be that differences in societal values would determine whether some individuals with alien points of views would find a constructive and dignified outlet for their energies or would be condemned to life in an insane asylum.

Implications for Counseling:

This study details how significant early social influences in individual development may affect career choice. Although few bona fide composers of music are likely to be seen in vocational counseling because the occupation is so small, this report contains important principles applicable to a number of occupations.

This study suggests the need for a thorough review of the life history data with accent on what the counselee remembers of family attitudes. The counselee's relationship with his family and peer group at ages significant to career development is most important.

This study also suggests that selection of certain occupations, occupational fields, or at least occupational levels is determined by early social influences. The counselor's task is to attempt to trace out these influences and evaluate their impact on career choice. The most significant items are social class of the parents, the father's occupation, the parents' education, and the counselee's relationships with father, mother, siblings, and peers.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Interviews were held with two groups. One group consisted of "twenty-four advanced students of musical composition selected by the heads of three outstanding American schools of music." The other group contained twenty-three persons who acted as a jury to determine the "most successful" American-born composers of serious music.

Cautions:

The author realizes that the techniques of observation, the representativeness of the data, and the method of experiment should be kept in mind in assessing the results. The techniques of observation are crude measuring devices. There is no way of determining how representative the sample was. "Finally, the experimental method of agreement used cannot hope to delineate, precisely, selective or causal factors."

Theoretical Orientation:

Society may be conceived of as a network of roles which must be continuously manipulated "if the work of the society is to get done." Some roles are more important to society than others. Linton has pointed out that in some societies a sufficient supply of recruits is assured by ascribing roles or statuses to individuals on the basis of cultural patterns or biological facts. Other societies leave the supplying of recruits and thus the attainment of roles to the person's conscious choice and individual effort. "This emphasis upon achieving roles is characteristic of our own society." Emphasis upon achievement does not exclude the notion that some selective processes may operate to select and train individuals for and direct them to necessary roles. For example, Merton suggested that such selective processes operate "before the individual makes the conscious choice and successful effort to achieve a bureaucratic role." The present paper attempts to illustrate the operation of such selective forces in a case study of the American composer-musician.

BOXER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 153.348

Weinberg, S. Kirson, and Arond, Henry. "The Occupational Culture of the Boxer," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVIII (March, 1952), pp. 460-469.

Description:

I. Recruitment:

Professional boxers are usually young men and adolescents from the lower socio-economic classes. Often they are immigrants to the city or are children of immigrants. In Chicago, an ethnic succession of boxers was observed which corresponded to the ecological distribution of the various ethnic groups living near the center of the city. First, the Irish, then the Italians provided the greatest number of prominent boxers; now it is the Negroes.

"It can be inferred tentatively that the social processes among juveniles and adolescents in the lower socio-economic levels, such as individual and gang fights, the fantasies of 'easy money', the lack of accessible vocational opportunities, and the general isolation from the middle-class culture, are similar for those who become professional boxers as for those who become delinquents. The difference resides in the role-model the boy picks, whether criminal or boxer." It appeared that the presence of one or several successful boxers in the neighborhood has stimulated the boy of similar ethnic background to become a "ring-fighter." In some instances, managers or trainers in the local gymnasium have persuaded some boys to become professional boxers. Eminence in boxing as well as in other sports and entertainment offers an opportunity to the slum boy to gain quick success and accompanying status and prestige.

II. Occupational Culture of the Boxer:

At the beginning of his career, the would-be boxer is impressed with the need for training to improve his physical condition, to acquire the skills needed to win a fight, and to avoid injury. He comes to regard his body, especially his hands, as his stock-in-trade. Often boxers will follow certain formulas to keep in "shape." The data revealed that "one /boxer/ practiced Yogi, another became a physical cultist, a third went on periodic fasts; others seek out lotions, vitamins and other means of improving their endurance, alertness, and punching power."

The fighter learns early in his career that he must never admit defeat. He must continue to fight regardless of injuries he sustains in the process. This point was illustrated by these comments: "If a man quits a fight, an honest fight,...he has no business there in the first place."

Boxers who remain in the sport are hopeful of occupational-climbing. This attitude is reinforced by the character of boxing. The sport emphasizes the individual, "boxing is done by single contestants, not by teams." Furthermore, tradition, and the boxer's relationships to trainers, managers and other related persons reinforce this confidence.

To counteract the factor of unpredictability regarding the outcome of boxing bouts, fighters tend to develop certain superstitions which give them emotional support and security. For example, one boxer believed that if he ate certain food, he was sure to win. Others have insisted upon wearing certain charms, religious medals, or the same robe in which they won their first fight. At times, the manager or trainer uses the superstition of the boxer to gain control over him. Although this attitude of superstition may have been imported from the fighter's local or ethnic culture, "it is intensified among the boxers themselves, whether they are white or Negro, preliminary fighters or champions."

Similarly, when a fighter likes a certain style, punch or movement of another fighter, he may wear some item of clothing that belonged to the person whom he wishes to imitate, or from superstition, rub him on the back. All of such practices "focus toward the perspective of 'filling the place' or taking the role of the other esteemed fighter."

Boxers are typed according to their particular style and manner in the ring. For instance, the style of the "puncher" or "mauler" differs significantly from that of the "cream puff" who is unable to hit hard. A "butcher" is known by his tendency to hit hard and ruthlessly even when his opponent is helpless, thereby inflicting unnecessary damage.

Often boxers must fight with 'fouls' or 'quasi-fouls' in the ring. The tactics of these persons technically include fouls, but they may be carried out so quickly and cleverly that they go undetected by the referee. Additionally, they may be harrassed by the spectators. Their only protection against a situation fraught with tension, physical punishment and eventual fatigue is their physical condition, and their acquired confidence.

The outcome of the fight is a decisive factor with regard to the boxer's status and self-esteem. In a succession of boxing matches the fighter undergoes a fluctuating routine, "in which tension mounts during training, is concentrated during the fight, and is discharged in the usual celebration,...Hence many boxers pursue a fast tempo of living and spend lavishly on clothes, women, gambling, and drink....Many boxers experience intense conflict between the ordeals of training and the pursuits of pleasure."

III. Social Structure and Social Mobility:

The occupation of the boxer is highly stratified. Ranking is determined first by their weight, then by their position in a match, and finally, by their status with stable-mates who have the same manager. The fighters are ranked annually in each weight division.

The careers of 127 fighters were traced from 1938 onward in order to determine their vertical mobility. It was found that 107, or 84.2 per cent, remained in the local preliminary or semiwindup category; 11, or 8.7 per cent, became local headliners. These persons have been professional boxers for an average of about 8 years. Eight boxers, or 7.1 percent achieved national recognition, i.e., were among the first ten champions. These persons have also been professionals for an average of almost 8 years. One has become champion after 12 years in the ring. Those who remain in this occupation believe that they can reach the top.

Those who cease to aspire to the championship may quit entirely or may become part-time boxers. The hopes of the aspiring boxers are justified; climbing in the sport does not depend upon ability alone, it can also be the result of a'lucky break'.

IV. Relationships of the Boxer:

Trainers, managers and promoters comprise the boxer's social milieu. The closest and most crucial relationships are those between the trainer and the boxer. It is the trainer who represents the authority figure to the boxer. He "polishes his skills, compels him to train regularly, and distracts him from worrying about the fight, and he can control him by withdrawing praise or can restore his morale when he has lost."

Relationships with managers are also of importance. One boxer has characterized the interest of managers as follows: "Some managers are interested in the money first and in the man second; other managers are interested in the man first." It appeared that the majority of managers tended to regard fighting as a business venture, viewing the fighter as a commodity and being concerned mainly with money. To obtain the latter, they were compelled to please the promoters and " to sell their fighters' abilities to the promoters."

Managers, generally, tend to have the advantage over their boxers in every conceivable way. First, they are organized into guilds and thereby exert control over the boxers. Second, they try to keep their fighters financially, and if possible, emotionally attached to them. They will encourage their borrowing money on future earnings. Although legally they cannot take more than one-third of the fighter's purse, many of them do not abide by this rule. Furthermore, many managers may"rush" the fighter into too many bouts, overmatch him with a superior fighter, or do some other dishonest maneuvering. In contrast, some managers are honest, are concerned only with the developing of their man's ability to its fullest extent. "In short, managers have no informal standards to protect their boxers and are guided chiefly by their own personal considerations in these activities."

V. The Boxer and the Promoter:

The boxer's relationship with the promoter is usually indirect. Yet the promoter is the most influential person in the boxing hierarchy. The promoter is primarily a showman and a businessman. For him, the fighter is a commodity. "His aim is to get the most from his investment." For him, the 'show' comes first, the boxer's welfare is ignored. Frequently, the promoter, to insure his direct control over the boxers, will appoint one or a series of 'managers' as 'fronts' and thereby obtain a share of the boxers' earnings and gain control over them. By the same method, he can also reduce the fighters' share since his "manager" (since he actually represents the promoter) will not bargain for a larger share of earnings on the boxers' behalf. Because of such monopolistic tendencies in the occupation, most boxers are relatively helpless in their dealings with promoters.

If a potentially good fighter wants to meet some leading contenders, his manager may have to "cut in" the promoter or some other manager who has a connection with the desired person in order to make the arrangements. The mobility of a fighter thus depends, in large part, upon the manager's relationship to the promoter.

Since the promoter wishes to attract a large audience, the 'crowd pleasing' qualifications of the fighter, in addition to his abilities, become of importance. Particular race and ethnic characteristics play a part in this. For instance, "a good white fighter is preferred to a good Negro fighter;..." In New York and in Chicago, Jewish fighters seem to attract the crowd. Despite the promoters' efforts to develop white, especially Jewish fighters, few Jewish fighters are found. This is explained by the fact that the role models and practices in the local Jewish communities have changed. "Even Negro fighters, despite their dominance of the sport in quality and quantity of fighters, are increasingly turning to other sports because the role-models are slowly shifting."

The promoter can decisively influence the occupational career of a boxer. Once the fighter has shown that he has 'crowd pleasing' abilities, the promoter can make him mobile. "He /the boxer/ can be, as it were, 'nursed' to the top by being matched with opponents who are easy to beat or by meeting 'set-ups' who are instructed to lose. Thus he builds up an impressive record and is ready for big-time fights." Hence, on early record alone, it is difficult to assess the competency of a fighter, for his record may have been designed for publicity purposes.

VI. Effect upon the Boxer:

The punitive character of boxing as well as the social relationships of the social milieu of boxing influence the boxer during and after his career in the ring.

First, the physical effects of the boxing are detrimental to the person's health. In addition to the hazards of death in the ring, one estimate predicts that 60 per cent of boxers become mildly punch-drunk and 5 per cent become severely punch-drunk. The severely punch-drunk fighter can be recognized "by an ambling gait, thickened or retarded speech, mental stereotypy, and a general decline in efficiency." Eye injuries, misshapen noses and cauliflower ears are further disabling marks of boxing.

Second, many boxers continue to fight even when they have passed their prime years or have been injured. The boxing culture which encourages such behavior works to the eventual detriment of the boxer.

The fighter's career terminates at a relatively early age. The attitude of 'feeling old' is accompanied by a severe loss of status. The sharp decline in status in the post-boxing career is explained by the fact that boxing has served as a vocational means for the attainment of status. Now, when the person is too old to remain active in boxing, he lacks the skills with which to retain his status.

A survey of 95 leading former boxers, each of whom had earned more than

$100,000 during their careers in the ring, revealed the following post-boxing career patterns: 18 persons have remained in the sport, working as trainers or trainer-managers; two have become wrestlers; 26 worked, i.e., 'fronted for' or owned taverns; 2 were liquor salesmen; 18 had unskilled jobs, most frequently in the steel mills; 6 worked in the movies; 5 were entertainers; 2 owned or worked in gas stations; 3 were cab drivers; 3 had newsstands; 2 were janitors; 3 were bookies; 3 were associated with the race tracks (i.e., 2 collected bets and 1 was a starter); and 2 were in business.

It may also be that former boxers face emotional difficulties in adjusting to their new occupational roles.

Implications for Counseling:

Brain damaged, retired boxers are more likely to seek vocational counseling than are individuals who are considering professional boxing as a possible vocational choice. Although boxing is a highly visible occupation, a detailed field study such as this one is extremely useful in understanding behind-the-scenes events.

There are similarities in the counseling of clients who have aspirations toward occupations such as boxer, big league baseball player, concert singer or performer, and actor or actress. In these careers, competition is so keen that success is contingent upon many unpredictable factors. The possession of a reasonable competence in the art, although it may have taken years to acquire, may be inadequate in itself for success. An additional characteristic of these occupations is that they usually possess little transfer value to other occupations. For most clients who have such goals, these occupations are often seen in terms of glamour, and choices are not made on the basis of rational considerations.

It might be wise for the counselor to help the client plan for a more utilitarian secondary occupational career into which he might transfer should he find that the pursuit of or participation in his primary career-choice is no longer possible.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Professional boxers are recruited from among the youth of the lower socio-economic levels. Their changing ethnic composition reflects the ethnic shifts in the urban lower socio-economic levels. Fighting is an important road to increased social status, and successful boxers are role-models for these youths. Trainers, managers, and promoters view boxing in different ways from the boxers and frequently affect boxers' careers."

Methodology:

Guided interviews with 68 present and former boxers, 7 trainers, and 5 managers provided the information for this article. The personal experience of one of the authors (Arond) and the reading of firsthand literature provided additional information.

Cautions:

Generalizations are based on the authors' personal knowledge of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

The culture of the professional boxer was described in this article. The specific aspects covered were: recruitment, practices and beliefs, and the social structure of the boxing world.

BUYER **ABSTRACT** **D.O.T. Code: 162.158**

Rachman, David J., and Kemp, Linda J. "Are Buyers Happy in Their Jobs?", Journal of Retailing, Vol. XL, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 1-10+.

This article is based on a study conducted by members of the 1962-1963 class in graduate research of the New York University School of Retailing.

Description:

This study sought to find out what elements contributed to the job satisfaction of buyers. Specifically, it dealt with the following questions: Is the job satisfaction of buyers more affected by the amount of salary than by other factors? Is the buyer more likely to be happy in a large or in a small retail organization? Does the particular geographical section of the country affect the buyer's attitude toward his job?

Six general categories of job satisfaction were under consideration:

(1) Physical store facilities and supplies
(2) Buyer services
(3) Buyer personnnel policies and practices
(4) Administrative practices and policies
(5) Buyer colleagues
(6) Characteristics of supporting employees

Findings:

Personnel Characteristics: According to the data, the buyers' earnings were not closely related to the level of job satisfaction. Other factors were equally or more important than salary. On the average, female buyers were happier than were men, although they did not earn the highest salaries. The buyer attaining the highest level of job satisfaction was found to have the following characteristics: female, married, over fifty-five years of age, and employed by the company for well over twenty years. The employer firm is located in the far West and has over one hundred employees.

Rating of Physical Store Facilities and Supplies: In general, the buyers were satisfied with the store facilities at their disposal. This attitude seemed to be in direct contrast with the reaction of visitors to their "cubby hole" type offices located directly on the sales floor. The buyers did express, however, the opinion that the stores did not provide an adequate supply of library or reference materials for their use. Since today's buyer has been exposed to college, the desire for reference material may reflect the transference of his academic training to the business world.

Rating of Buyer Services: Organizational services ranked lowest in buyers' job satisfaction ratings. This, in general, included services of the sales force, receiving and marking, stock help, service managers and sales promotion. The buyers' relationships with these groups of personnel have long been problematic. The recent development of the chain-type concept of management by department stores is largely due to a recognition of these problems and is seen as a method of taking the buyer out of these sensitive areas and allowing him to concentrate on buying only.

Rating of Personnel Policies and Practices: In general, buyers approved of store policies affecting their decision-making and creative abilities. However, they regarded their salaries and their opportunities for foreign travel as less than they had been led to expect.

Administrative Practices and Policies: Communications between buyers and management personnel were rated well above average with the exception of those with the sales promotion manager. The conflict between buyers and sales promotion managers may be explained by the fact that the sales promotion manager acts as guardian of the buyers' advertising budget and is involved in decisions to make advertising cut-backs.

Buyer Colleagues and Supporting Employees: Buyers ranked their colleagues highly. They observed little social contact between their employees and those in other departments. This observation suggests that employees may take departmentalization of the store more seriously than the management intended.

Summary: This study supports the view that the buyer is happiest when he performs in areas directly connected with buying. This is in line with the recent trend in retail thinking; i.e., the buyer should concentrate more on the buying of merchandise and less on the numerous non-selling activities.

The buyer is the least happy in non-buying activities, i.e., in his relationship with other personnel. An example is his communications with those who offer direct services, such as the service manager. The difficulty of the relationship has little to do with the personnel involved. More likely, it is caused by the duality of allegiance on the part of the service-sales personnel; typically, the service-sales person is responsible to both the buyer and his department manager.

One area of potential conflict exists in the hiring and evaluation of personnel working directly for the buyer. The broad view of personnel function assumes that the person to whom the employee is directly responsible should approve the selection. In the case of buyers, some employees are partially responsible to the buyer and partially under the control of other managers. When the personnel department assumes the function of hiring and ranking of these employees, the buyers are dissatisfied.

Implications for Counseling:

Department store buyer is a frequently named occupational objective among women making educational and occupational choices. Most likely, it is a somewhat glamourized occupation. This detailed study of job satisfaction is particularly suited as a reality testing device. It is doubtful, however, whether the questionnaire method of inquiry used in this study was as well-suited to probing the sensitive areas of conflict in the occupation as would have been the interview and participant-observer techniques. It is suspected that the conflicts associated with the occupation are underestimated in this study.

This study should be compared with the study by George Strauss, entitled "Work Flow, Interfunctional Rivalry and Professionalism," Human Organization, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 137-149.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

A questionnaire concerning general categories of job satisfaction was mailed to a stratified sample of 513 buyers in the four major geographical sections of the United States. One hundred and seven replies were received. The survey included only stores with forty or more buyers.

Cautions:

Although the number of persons answering the questionnaire was quite small in this instance, this survey illustrates a trend which deserves further sociological study.

PURCHASING AGENT **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 162.158

Strauss, George. "Work-Flow Frictions, Interfunctional Rivalry and Professionalism: A Case Study of Purchasing Agents," Human Organization, Vol. XXIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1964), pp. 137-149.

Description:

I. Status Aspiration and Anxiety

Many purchasing agents feel that their capabilities and work are not sufficiently recognized either by management or by other departments of the corporation. They envy engineers, accountants, and personnel men to whom they attribute higher pay, better parking lots, and fancier offices. "They often feel frustrated in dealing with college-trained engineers and aspire to professional status equal to theirs."

Causes for the purchasing agents' present discontent and their desire for a more prestigeful position within the corporation are rooted in changes in technology and work flow. Originally, the purchasing agent performed two functions: (1) negotiated prices and placed orders in accordance with requests made by others; (2) made sure that suppliers delivered the orders on time.

Now, many purchasing men feel that they should be doing more and so (1) attempt to gain a greater amount of control in determining what the company should buy---more than is implied in their specific duties; (2) "seek to be consulted by other departments in regard to any question dealing with the components..."; and (3) attempt to gain control over related functions such as receiving, inventory, and production control (termed "material management"). In their quest for expanded functions, the purchasing agents generate conflict and arouse the hostility of other departments.

a. Conflict over requisitions: One of the purchasing agent's primary functions is to place orders according to requisitions. The normal requisition includes information concerning the quality, i.e., specifications; quantity, i.e., lot size; and time, i.e., date on which delivery is needed. According to present corporate practices, most orders originate in the engineering department, then are passed on to the scheduling department and, finally, to the purchasing department. The purchasing agent, dissatisfied because he is at the very end of the ordering process, seeks to gain control at the points of initiation. From management, he wants recognition as a consultant---one who can keep management posted about new developments in the market, about new materials, and new sources of supply, price trends, etc. From the engineering department, he demands control over specifications.

b. Conflict with the engineering department: The agent's purchasing power and, in a sense, his status depend upon how tightly the product specifications are worded by the engineering department. If the specification calls for a particular brand, the agent can exercise very little individual judgment since he can deal with usually only one salesman and often must accept the set price. Such restrictions give him little social status within the corporation and curtail his economic bargaining power with the suppliers.

What the purchasing agent would prefer instead is known as "functional specifications," i.e., the description of certain minimum requirements which then would enable him to find the product on the market which he feels best fits the company's needs. Engineers, on the other hand, prefer to use brand names denoting the desired product. It is much easier for them to write down a well-known brand name than to draw up lengthly functional specifications. The battle continues as the purchasing agents strive to compel engineers to add, at least, the words "or equivalent" to the brand name specification and/or to establish a reference list of standardized specifications.

Occasionally, purchasing agents will accuse engineers of "overspecification." For example, " the engineer may insist on a product which has a life of ten years when the product as a whole may have a life of only three years."

Conflicts with engineers also arise when specifications are inadequate or phrased in a language too technical for the purchasing agent to understand. Conflict arises again when the purchasing agent feels that specifications should be changed and the engineer, having already committed his plans to blueprints, feels that he has completed his work. Interference by the purchasing agent at this point is a threat to the engineer's feeling of accomplishment.

The purchasing agent's conflict with the engineering department is increased when the engineer permits "backdoor selling." "This type of selling occurs when a salesman by-passes the purchasing agent, sees someone else in the organization (usually the engineer) and seeks to influence this other person to requisition the salesman's product by name." Backdoor selling threatens the status of the purchasing agent in two ways: it encourages specification by brand names, and it makes both the salesman and the engineer less dependent upon the purchasing agent.

c. Conflicts with production scheduling: Purchasing agents are more friendly toward production schedulers than they are toward engineers. The status distinction between the groups is not as great. Schedulers are less likely to be college graduates and they have little claim to being "professionals." Purchasing agents' chief complaint about the production scheduling department is their timing; they make their requests too late and claim to need deliveries sooner than they actually do.

When the purchasing agent has to make a request for a quick delivery, he is placed in an uncomfortable position. Often, the agent has to pay a premium price, or persuade the vendor to rearrange his own production schedule in order to get the particular product delivered on time. Purchasing agents are reluctant to place such pressures upon their suppliers because they know that they will be obligated to reciprocate the "favor" in some manner in the future.

The over-all relationship between the schedulers and the purchasing agents is considerably different from that of the purchasing agents and engineers. In the former instance, there is room for bargaining and bluffing on both sides. In the latter instance, however, this is not the case.

d. Inventory policy and materials management: Inventory policy is another cause of conflict between purchasing and scheduling. The purchasing department attempts to gain control over inventories in order to maximize its chances for purchasing at quantity discounts. In addition, the purchasing agent strives to persuade top management to combine purchasing, inventory control and, sometimes, production scheduling into one materials management department. Such a department would see to it that materials are available when production calls for them. The purchasing agent entertains the hope that he would then be the man appointed to head this new department.

II. Inadequate Recognition from Management

a. Contacts with the boss: The purchasing agent's boss varies from one organization to another. He may be the general manufacturing manager, the factory manager, the controller, or the director of supplies. Whoever he is, the purchasing agent rarely sees him. On the few occasions he talks with the boss, he is reluctant to discuss his interdepartmental conflicts with him.

b. Difficulties in measuring efficiency: A study financed by the National Association of Purchasing Agents reported that most top managers believed that performance of the purchasing function could not be measured in terms of efficiency. As long as there were no work stoppages due to shortage of purchased materials, the purchasing function was assumed to be satisfactory. Perhaps this was one of the reasons why the purchasing agents got 'little or no credit for performing /their jobs/ more economically or effectively."

c. Uncertain relationship with management: The interview data indicated that purchasing agents resented the sporadic attention given to them by management. It made them feel insecure because they did not know where they stood. What a number of agents implied, one man stated explicitly:

> I have too much autonomy and too much work. My boss doesn't know what I am doing and I'm not sure he cares ....I don't get any support from /him/ so I've got to plug away on my own.

Some purchasing men took the initiative " to increase the degree of communication with top management---and in a sense top management's ability to control him." Many purchasing agents, for instance, prepared elaborate statistical charts showing their performance efficiency, or made available to management periodic reports extolling their savings to the company. Such writings apparently increased the agents' motivation but, on the whole, had little or no effect on management. Those who were responsible for purchasing failed to use these documents as ways of evaluating purchasing. As a consequence, the purchasing agents turned to professionalism as a means to bolster their status.

III. Professionalism

Purchasing agents look upon professionalization as a means of making their status more equal with that of the engineers. In their quest for professional status, they participate in the NAPA, the National Association of Purchasing

Agents. This group advocates "professional education" programs at universities, attempts to establish "certification" requirements, and a "code of standards" (on ethics).

The professional organization gives its members a sense of identity and solidarity. Since most purchasing agents have dead-end jobs, being elected to an Association office provides a feeling of "getting ahead." The organization also provides the opportunity for informal conversation which gives members a chance "to let off steam in a safe environment." Finally, the NAPA promotes the occupational interests of its members and, in this sense, functions as a quasi-union.

The Association's objective in establishing a Code of Standards is to regulate "gift-taking," a controversial issue that threatens the integrity of the purchasing agents' image. According to existing standards, the purchasing agent is degrading the profession when he solicits gifts or permits these to influence his decisions. The practice still prevails in some circles, but, on the whole, the custom has declined considerably in recent years.

Recently, the purchasing agents have attempted to delegate what they considered to be the non-professional aspects of their jobs to subordinates. Such a trend has been observed among professionals such as nurses and engineers. Nurses delegate certain undesirable aspects of their jobs to nurses' aides; engineers delegate certain duties to technicians.

IV. Conflicting Functional Groups

Purchasing men are not the only ones who have problems in the industrial setting. Engineers, personnel men, accountants, quality control men---all claim to be underdogs. In the author's opinion, "one should expect friction from the very nature of the staff or functional specialist's job." Production men make things; their accomplishments are visible. Staff men make ideas and can feel success and demonstrate accomplishment only when other departments accept these ideas.

The industrial organization viewed from the purchasing agent's frame of reference is not a highly co-ordinated organization, controlled by top management. Rather, it is a collection of semi-autonomous departments, each with its special point of view, each imposing a system of checks and balances on all others. On the surface, this arrangement may appear inefficient; but in the industrial environment, interdepartmental conflicts tend to encourage free competition and give top management a chance to evaluate the behavior of subordinates.

Implications for Counseling:

This is a most interesting study in that it deals extensively with interoccupational frictions and has implications for all managerial-type occupations. Vocational counseling and personnel psychology have long stressed skill in interpersonal relations as a requisite for successful job adjustment and job satisfaction.

Much of the literature on this topic has assumed that difficulty in this area was due to the personality characteristics of the individual, rather than to the situation itself. Relatively little has been written of the specific way in which structural conflicts between occupations can aggravate interpersonal relations.

Vocational counselors working with adults frequently encounter managerial-level clients who have strong negative emotional involvements in their inter-personal relations at work. Although these difficulties may be attributable to the client's lack of adequate skills in interpersonal relations, it is essential that the counselor be able to differentiate this lack from normal reactive behavior which occurs in response to structurally-activated conflict. In order to make this differentiation, the counselor would need to elicit information about the client's behavior in previous employment and other social situations.

Aggrandizement efforts of an occupation further complicate personnel adjustment. As this study illustrated, friction arose because of the efforts of purchasing agents to "build an empire." Clients considering this occupation as a vocational choice must evaluate their ability to compete in an " empire building" situation.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Findings of this article were based upon on-the-job observations and intensive interviews with 144 subjects, supplemented by a questionnaire.

Cautions:

Although the number of persons answering the questionnaire was quite small in this instance, the survey illustrates a trend which deserves further sociological study.

Theoretical Orientation:

The large corporation was viewed as a "mass of competing power groups, each seeking to influence company policy in terms of its own interests, or, at least, in terms of its own distorted image of the company's interest." This case study of the purchasing agent illustrated the forms of rivalry among the various groups and showed "how this rivalry, amongother factors, encourages PA's (as they are commonly known) to seek to become 'professionals.' "

ADVERTISING AGENTS	D.O.T. Code: 164.068
COPY WRITER	132.088
CATALOG ILLUSTRATOR	141.081
ADVERTISING LAY-OUT MAN	141.081

ABSTRACT

Lewis, Ian. " In the Courts of Power---The Advertising Man," in The Human Shape of Work, ed. Peter L. Berger. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1964, pp. 113-180.

Description:

Advertising is a "labor-intensive industry"---i.e., one in which the big investment is in labor rather than in output of capital---consisting of a relatively small number of highly paid, specialized technicians and managerial officials.

Advertising provides these highly paid specialized technicians and managerial officials with a number of fringe benefits. In addition to the salaries that they receive, they are usually allowed to accumulate a retirement fund or a separation allowance that may result in a yearly deferred income of up to 20 per cent of their annual income. As customers of mass media representatives, advertising men are wined and dined at "expense account" restaurants and hotels. As representatives of the agency, they entertain persons from client organizations.

Flexibility of temperament is a role requirement for the man in advertising. When being entertained by salesmen of companies selling supplies, the advertising official can be gay, carefree, and expansive. On the other hand, when entertaining a client or a potential client who may purchase advertising services, he must practice deference.

Economic Insecurity: High-salaried persons in the advertising business must cope with a number of insecurities. Since wages and salaries represent the category involving the greatest expense, it is the greatest target for expense reduction when operating costs have to be cut. If an agency loses a major account which represents a sizable proportion of its billings, wholesale layoffs can ensue. Account shifts occur fairly frequently in the advertising business and can result in the loss of jobs by competent, capable and blameless men---a major career obstacle in this occupation.

Readjustment: This study reports that often those persons who have been most successful in the past are the ones who have the most difficulty relocating. Such individuals often leave the occupation to become consultants, real estate agents, school teachers, etc. They may enter the family business if there is one. Some retire and live modestly on the sale of stocks or from money accumulated from profit-sharing plans.

Uncertainty and Unpredictability: There is a great deal of uncertainty and unpredictability associated with the advertising business. One source of anxiety is the "irrationality of the marketplace" which occurs in spite of the fact that every effort is made to rule out chance. Many activities go into the marketing operation, of which advertising is only a small part. Much that leads to the success or failure of a sales venture is beyond the control of the advertising man. He may benefit unduly from a success just as he may suffer unduly from a failure.

Pressure and Overtime: Many agency clients resent the large salaries and expense accounts that agency representatives have. They may, in addition, feel resentful of the representative's "claims to infallibility." Clients express this resentment by making excessive demands on the agency. As a consequence, large amounts of time, energy, and money must be expended to prove that the agency is worthy of keeping the account. This means that agency personnel must work overtime and under pressure.

Occupational Conflict: The advertising agency has an overlapping organization which produces the effect for each subordinate of having more than one boss. One set of bosses consists of the account supervisor and account executive. They are in charge of an account group consisting of creative, technical, and staff specialists; media planners and buyers; researchers; merchandisers; and sales promotion men. The other set of bosses consists of the heads of individual departments (e.g., research director, creative director, media director, art director, etc.). This situation produces various internal conflicts in the organization:

1. Conflicts among executives on separate accounts for staff help which is scarce.
2. Conflicts between account executives and staff because staff feels that executives are too demanding.
3. Conflicts between account executives and department executives over the assignment of staff.
4. Conflicts involving differences in perspective on the part of technicians, artists and specialists, on the one hand, and business-oriented account supervisors, on the other hand.
5. Conflicts among specialist groups regarding the relative importance of their particular function in the advertising industry.
6. Conflicts among creative groups charged with the responsibility of working up an advertising campaign for the same client.

In short, advertising involves more than the usual amount of intra-organizational conflict and more than the usual amount of conflict between occupational peers.

Recognition: It is not easy for the individual to obtain recognition in this occupation. The collective character of the creative enterprise in advertising plus the speed with which ideas are copied make it difficult to identify the original creator.

Necessary Characteristics for Success: In order to survive and succeed in this occupational world, the advertising man must have three characteristics:

1) Nerve---the capacity to stand up under the constant pressure of deadlines, criticism, and the ever-present possibility of total failure.
2) Likeability---the capacity to exhibit calmness, tact, proper deference, good humor, and loyalty to the right people.
3) Realistic Toughness---the capacity to tactfully disagree when it is necessary and to know at what point to stop disagreeing.

Implications for Counseling:

Advertising is a "glamour" occupation. Counselees are sometimes unduly swayed by the glamour aspects of the occupation to the point of excluding thought of the reality demands.

The uncertainty of the advertising field suggests the desirability of the counselee's considering the particular skill he has or hopes to develop in light of its transfer value to other occupational settings. Thus, the counselor might encourage the advertising copy writer to think in terms of alternate writing jobs in the event that he is unable to meet the competition or uncertainties in the advertising field. The advertising artist, for example, might think in terms of the other art openings available, though they are admittedly few. The managerial staff members are more fortunate because their skills are more generalized and transferable to managerial positions in other industries. Counselors may wish to help counselees map out career fields with these alternate career transfer possibilities.

Lower-class values of chance or luck as affecting occupational and financial success are, to a degree, realistically applicable to advertising and may be more satisfying values for advertising people to live by than middle-class values which emphasize the infallability of hard work and study as means to success.

Special personality characteristics must augment technical skill in this field. The field is sufficiently competitive to eliminate those applicants without both the special technical skills and the required personality characteristics.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The author provides no information regarding his research method. Most likely, the data presented in this study were based on participant observation.

Cautions:

This is an account of the advertising profession in New York City. The extent to which the findings in this study can be generally applied is not yet known.

Theoretical Orientation:

The social structure of the advertising occupation and, more specifically, of the advertising agency constitute a set of limitations and opportunities for the individual. How the individual adapts to the limitations and uses the opportunities is determined by his particular needs, motivation, and personality. A selective process operates by means of which those who can meet the basic requirements of this social structure survive and others seek alternative forms of employment. Even the survivors, however, may be subjected to irrational forces which ultimately lead to their failure.

UNDERWRITER (insurance) ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 169.188

Krugman, Herbert E. "Salesmen in Conflict: A Challenge to Marketing," *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (July, 1958), pp. 59-61.

Description:

Sales work, in the opinion of personnel research specialists, is difficult, since no sure formulae for sucess are available. The indeterminate nature of the selling situation results in two widely recognized characteristics of mobile salesmen: instability on the job, and an orientation toward monetary reward. Viewed from a different angle, selling as an occupation contains built-in conflicts about the means or technologies used in achieving sales. This is especially true in the case of the mobile salesman whose job is to intrude upon the privacy of the prospect. According to the values of our society, deliberate intrusion upon one's privacy is not "nice." When one is being told to mind his own business, the "nosy" individual may quickly feel guilt and shame at his intrusion.

Findings: Life insurance underwriters at the company studied are typically recruited in their late twenties. On the average, they receive about twenty hours of training before being hired. After eight days of office training, they are ready to call on clients. Supplementary training in the form of manuals, periodic meetings, short regional courses, and periodic national courses are available to them if they are interested.

The majority of the life insurance salesmen contacted in this survey worked out of their homes. The more productive agents were accorded office space in the local branch office. This is seen as a reward. About half of the agents reported that they had felt like quitting the job at some time in their sales career. Statistical records showed that the actual turnover was likely to occur within the first six months, or in the second year, or in some cases after five years.

When questioned about obstacles to success, the salesmen cited such factors as poor territories, poor working habits, and fear of making contacts. The personal interviews revealed that the fear of making contact was the factor which differentiated the successful agent from the unsuccessful one. Fear of making contact adversely influenced one's working habits. The combined effect was loss of enthusiasm for the job. When questioned about their motivation for the work, the salesmen mentioned monetary rewards most frequently. Freedom was the best-liked feature of the occupation. Hard work was believed to lead to success. Interestingly, both the successful and unsuccessful agents agreed on the latter point. A comparison of work habits indicated that, in addition to hard work, efficiency was a factor in achieving success. The successful salesmen, for example, used the phone more often than the unsuccessful agent did prior to making housecalls on prospective clients.

The agents were proud of being honest and reliable and attributed their success to these factors rather than to their skills in interpersonal relations. The author speculates that the idea of manipulation of people is just too much of a strain to incorporate into a self-image that is already burdened with guilt stemming from intrusion into the prospect's personal life.

Conclusions:

The author suggests the development of some psychological tests which would indicate the candidate's tolerance to the idea and act of intruding upon individuals' privacy.

Implications for Counseling:

The idea that one's capacity for intruding upon the privacy of others could serve as a means of analyzing success in life insurance selling is an interesting and new concept in attitude appraisal. Presumably a careful examination of the client's life history data, with special emphasis on various social situations in which the client has had a choice as to whether or not to intrude upon the privacy of others, would offer clues to this capacity.

The behavior of clients during counseling may offer additional clues. To ask a question, some clients will interrupt counseling interviews which the counselor is holding with other clients; others will wait patiently until summoned by the secretary.

In a way, the client's ability to obtain occupational information by asking appropriate individuals in the community might serve as another measure, since even asking questions of strangers involves a mild invasion of privacy.

The capacity for invading privacy is a construct which may be of value in examining many occupations. The construction of a standardized attitude scale would be of help.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"This study of insurance underwriters highlights a paradox facing these highly-trained salesmen. They want to be popular and well respected, but their success in selling rests in part on the need to intrude upon the privacy of others."

Methodology:

Approximately 1500 life insurance underwriters, all employees of a large national firm, were the subjects for the study. About one-third of the sales force were full-time employees. Data were collected by two methods: First, personal interviews were held with twenty "successful" and twenty "unsuccessful" insurance agents during 1955 in the national company's three branch offices located in the Northeast, Midwest and deep South. Second, "questionnaires were mailed during 1956 to the homes of all the underwriters and to the branch managers; sixty-seven per cent of these were returned.

Cautions:

The generalizations found in this study are based on a sample of life insurance agents drawn from only one company. The sample of agents interviewed was very small.

Theoretical Orientation:

It is hypothesized that intrusion upon the prospect's privacy--the customary technique of the mobile salesman--is in conflict with the commonly held values of our society. The consequent shame and guilt on the part of the salesman is conceived of as a factor which may account for the higher turnover rate and lack of commitment among life insurance salesmen.

MANAGERIAL, FOREMEN **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 183.118

Dalton, Melville. "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVI (March, 1951), pp. 407-415.

Description:

Opinions differ as to what the means are by which individuals advance themselves in an organizational hierarchy. In the United States, the common belief is that personal relations are important in occupational promotions. "Some students of business and industry have stated that 'pull,' 'connections,' 'family contacts,' etc., are important in success." One industrial executive declared "that such factors as 'race,' nationality, faith, politics, sectional antecedents, ...etc., are important criteria of selection in all organizations, probably less so in industry than in political, church, and academic bodies."

The objective evidence indicates that neither informal criteria nor any measurable attributes believed to be essential for functioning in a given organization are used consistently in the selection and promotion of managerial staff. In order to ascertain, however, the extent to which informal factors influence the selection and promotion process, in an empirical situation the career patterns of 226 salaried managers, all employees of a single plant, were studied.

Procedure: First, the formal statements in the managerial handbook were studied. Second, the personnel data on managers were examined with respect to age, years of service, education, and the relationship of these factors to career achievement. Finally, the alleged influence of certain informal criteria were studied. These alleged informal criteria were: (a) being a member of the Masonic Order; (b) not being a Roman Catholic; (c) having a largely Anglo-Saxon or German background; (d) being a member of a local yacht club; and (e) being affiliated with the Republican party.

Findings:

I. The Managerial Handbook:

The managerial handbook merely indicated that "ability, honesty, co-operation, and industry" were the essential qualities for promotion.

II. Occupational Data on Managers:

(a) Age at the time of appointment - The age at which personnel enter a given position in an organizational hierarchy could have an influence on regularity in the selection and promotion process. The data, however, showed no regular pattern based on the criteria of age.

(b) Years of service at appointment - In some organizations, there is a policy which requires a minimum number of years of service before promotion to a higher position is made. Conversely, a maximum number of years in a given position may exclude a person from further advancement. At the plant studied, no such policy existed; "the relation between service and age at appointment for both superintendents and the staff group defied precise classification." Among staff officers, twenty-three had begun their careers as staff employees and had risen to their present level in a period of three to eleven years. The other thirteen officers (N=36), who comprised an older age group, had started in the line organization of the plant. It was speculated that these individuals had been tolerated for many years as near-failures in the line positions until they were transferred to the less influential staff positions. The study of promotion patterns among line officers revealed that "current first line foremen were advancing less rapidly than had earlier personnel in that stratum." For example, the current foremen already had held their position 12.5 years, 5.2 years longer than the current general foremen had when they held the same position. No fixed, overall pattern with respect to age and years of experience existed, however, as criteria for selection and promotion of managers.

(c) Education - The data suggested that some relationship existed between education and organizational rank. The hypothesis that training was related to managerial skills and hence was probably a criterion for advancement was not supported by the data. On the contrary, "only a minority of managers were in positions relevant to their schooling, while at least 62 per cent were engaged in duties not related to their formal training. For example, the industrial relations department was headed by officers with degrees in aeronautical and chemical engineering; a divisional superintendent had specialized in medicine." The evidence led to the assumption that an individual's greater educational achievement would contribute to his increased desire for status and a higher style of life. It was believed that such desires had resulted from the individual's association with persons of higher socio-economic status during his college years.

On the basis of these findings, the author concluded that "age, service and schooling all showed such irregularities that neither the maximum nor the minimum of any were criteria of promotion."

III. Informal Criteria of Success:

Lower and middle rank officers in the plant studied made covert charges that unofficial and irrelevant requirements rather than "ability" were the criteria for advancement into higher ranks. For instance, "most Protestant non-Masons and Catholics alike declared that declared that being a Mason was a prequisite to advancement in the plant." The data tended to support this charge. Another alleged bias influencing the promotion process was the incumbent's ethnic origin. The data revealed that people of Anglo-Saxon background comprised at least half of each managerial group. Germans were next in number (33 per cent) and superintendents were entirely of Anglo-Saxon and German background (72.2 and 27.8 per cent). The significance of the ethnic selection among the managers was emphasized by the fact that in the surrounding community Anglo-Saxons constituted 26 per cent and Germans 12 per cent of the population.

Gossip in the many offices of the plant suggested that social activities and friendships in the local yacht club were thought to be criteria in the selection and promotion process. The survey showed that 114 officers of the plant were members of the yacht club. Although the frequency in this instance was smaller than in the two preceding cases, (i.e., membership in the Masonic Order and Anglo-Saxon or German ancestry), the interview data tended to stress the importance of this type of social activity.

Although political affiliation has not been analyzed formally, all managers presumably were members of the Republican party. This was suggested by interview statements, and "by the fact that in the few cases in which officers had earlier served as public political incumbents they did so as members of the Republican party."

This study illustrates that the "absence of a sharply defined mode of ascent encouraged the managers to search for more subtle means of elevating themselves." Frequently, essential qualifications for a position become secondary and "acceptable social attributes" gain primary importance in order to accommodate the personal wishes and tacit expectations of superiors. Emphasis on pleasing personality often causes superiors "not to see or to overlook other qualities among aspirants and in some cases to appoint individuals who fail to perform as expected." The failures are usually protected by the creation of new offices (sinecures) for them or the appointment of "assistants" to aid them. Officially then it is stated that "changing conditions" or "production demands" required the new appointments.

Conclusions:

The data suggested that unrestricted informal behavior may in some cases initiate and perpetuate conditions termed by the larger society as "discriminatory" and "undemocratic."

Implications for Counseling:

This study documents the well-known fact that promotional opportunities are affected by ethnic background and membership in social groups outside of the work situation. This abstract might well be read by all counselees considering business management as a career.

Since the dominance of various ethnic and social groups varies from industry to industry and from company to company, the counselee should try to learn which groups are dominant in the company they are considering and should adjust their choices accordingly.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Participant observation, interviews and personnel records furnished the information for this study. Two hundred twenty-six salaried managers, all employees of a single plant, comprised the sample. Among those included were: 93 first-line foremen; 61 general foremen; 36 superintendents and assistants; and 35 staff heads, assistants, and specialists.

Cautions:

The sample of managers used in this study was not necessarily a representative sample of the managerial hierarchy in other plants. Consequently, findings of the study should be generalized to other plants only with caution.

Theoretical Orientation:

"There appears to be a growing gap between career practices and our insistence that status may be earned by adhering to formal procedures, [and] that vocational training will prepare an individual for executive positions." In most cases, it is more realistic to view status achievement in an organizational hierarchy as subject to many influences and attainable only within limits. The almost unavoidable intrusion of personal sentiments in the interaction process is just one example of the many factors that affect status achievement.

BUSINESS AGENT, LABOR UNION   ABSTRACT   D.O.T. Code: 187.118

Gouldner, Alvin W. "Attitudes of 'Progressive' Trade Union Leaders," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LII, No. 5, (March, 1957), pp.389-392.

Description:

In the author's opinion, there are two types of union leaders. One type can be summed up under the label "business agent." The other type, the "progressive" union leader, merits some detail. He can be characterized as one who places union activities and the fulfillment of his obligation as leader above all other interests. For this type of leader, the union is the channel through which he works for his "principles" and for " humanity". The progressive leader believes that his goals are different from those of other workers. The idea of using the union office as a means of climbing in the union hierarchy is frowned upon by such a leader. Furthermore, the progressive leader believes that offices in his union should be occupied by people who have ascended from the rank and file and that these leaders should possess the same religious, ethnic, and social class characteristics as the subgroup.

In the early days of union organization, the emerging leaders were young, mostly single people with no families of their own, whose attitude and feelings about the union approximated the progressive type just described. As the union became more powerful, the entire wage scale in the industry advanced, including salaries of union officials. Along with these developments, the leaders matured, married, and had families of their own.

According to the author, the family ties---the obligations of a husband and father as defined in the culture---were in conflict with the role and values of the progressive union leader. The typical development of this conflict began with the wife who objected to her husband's working on union "stuff". She expected him to stay home evenings, to be her companion as were the men in her family and circle of friends.

To be a union leader was considered a mark of success among the members and carried some prestige. Knowing this, the wife expected her husband to provide her with the commodities commensurate with the high prestige of the union office.

At the time of this study, the union leaders themselves were aware of the changes that had taken place in their ranks. They made comments to the effect that while once they had given their whole life to union interest, today they do not. Before, holding office in a union was a social activity, i.e., spending the evening with friends; now, it is a job. Now, when a young leader announces his intentions to marry, the first question the older leader asks is: Is she a 'good' union member? If so, this may slow down somewhat the inevitable process, i.e., the leader's changing attitude toward the union. If not, the leader's resignation might follow immediately.

World War II contributed further to the progressive leader's conflict. Success among union members became redefined in terms of wages and regular hours. Although union values demanded that the progressive leader repress and ignore the culturally accepted criteria of job satisfaction (expressed in terms of wages and hours), the desire to attain these became strong if the leader continuously encountered frustrations on the job, for instance, conflicting family obligations. In such circumstances, the progressive leader who felt that he had the ability to succeed in terms of socially current norms (i.e., work for a private employer) found it relatively difficult to adjust to union values. The author found that the war had increased the union leaders' and member's expectations of attaining the socially approved economic status in the socially approved way.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselors rarely suggest union leadership as a career choice. This is partly because a clear-cut occupational career pattern in this field has never been established. There has been a paucity of written occupational information about it. Finally, the tendency of many counselors to over-identify with employers has caused some of them to regard this occupation as of marginal utility, if not anti-social.

The usual role of the counselor has been with a client who, having entered union leadership work on a voluntary basis, has become, perhaps, a union steward and seeks counseling when confronted with some of the problems of this role. Clients may also request educational guidance in order to better prepare themselves to move up in the union hierarchy. In the latter situation, this study is of great value to the client in clarifying some of the conflicts he may expect and the normative solutions attained by others. It appears likely that in the seventeen years since this article was written, the trend away from the "progressive" union leader and toward the "business agent" has continued.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The roles of husband and father subject the 'progressive' trade-union leader to conflicting demands. This problem may be resolved either by the redefining of his roles as a leader or husband-father or the relinquishing of them. Such conflicts, however, appear to operate within limits set by the whole social structure. During the war the improvement in the labor market increased the prestige of the major social norms, particularly the goal of individual success, conventionally obtained. Thus, there was relatively less pressure on the leaders to conform to the deviant value-system of their union."

Methodology:

For about a year the "progressive" leader type was studied in a single trade union in New York City. Methods of participant observation and depth interviews were employed.

Theoretical Orientation:

It is difficult for social movements to retain their original values after they are formally organized and have developed professional leaders. Not only internal organizational factors, such as growth in size, but also external factors, (i.e., the various ties of individuals to outside interests, pressures, and ideologies), produce disrupting effects.

ABSTRACT

Hudson, Ruth Alice. "The Social Role of the Shop Steward: A Study in Expectations." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951.*

Description:

The role of the CIO shop steward was observed and analyzed in three local unions in order to test the usefulness of a theoretical frame of reference set forth by the author. The concept of role was broken down into three components: ideal role, i.e., the formal rights and duties associated with the status; social role, i.e., the range of behavior patterns that various groups of persons expect from the occupant of a given status; and personal role, i.e., the actual behavior of the individual occupying a given status. (Status, as used here, indicates the position one holds in an organization.) More specifically, the content of these role components was examined to determine their relationship to each other.

Ideal Role:

It was found that the steward's ideal role was the base point for the development of expectations of the various categories. A definition of the content of the ideal role was written up in the steward's manuals. According to it, the steward was expected to enforce union contracts by handling grievances and to provide leadership in union matters; i.e., the steward was to organize the workers in his department, collect dues, inform members about union matters, persuade them to be active and to support union policies. In some unions, he was to see that workers were provided with safe working conditions; in others, he was to advise members on their personal problems.

The investigations revealed that the more precisely the ideal role was defined, the clearer the social role (i.e., expectations of various categories of persons) appeared to be. Thus, the "understanding of the ideal role may help in predicting and interpreting the nature of social role."

"The ideal role does not include all of the expectations which make up a social role." The reasons for this discrepancy may be that some expectations are relevant only to particular settings, or it may be that expectations of certain persons are contrary to official policy and therefore cannot be given open recognition. In the case of the steward, for instance, many union officials and members sometimes expected him to promote work stoppages. Since this was in violation of the contract, it could not be officially recognized.

Social Role:

Consideration of the social role as a separate level pointed out the differences among the expectations held by the various categories of persons connected with the shop steward. It was found that the most significant expectations concerned the grievance procedures, an area in which activities of other persons tended to overlap with those of the steward. Moreover, the nature of these expectations varied according to the status and prestige of the other individual's position in the organization, and according to the degree to which his role was interlocked with that of the steward. Since all these expectations were concerned with union matters, it was concluded that the relationship between expectations and behavior must be viewed in its institutional context (i.e., in this instance, how it affects the union).

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Personal Role:

The shop steward appeared to be most aware of the expectations of others when these were in accordance with the ideal role. Expectations which conflicted with or were not covered by the ideal role were understood less accurately.

The study has indicated that persons in the various categories who were associated with the steward tended to modify their expectations in order to approximate expectations of all others. The steward's chances for conflict arising from contradictory expectations were minimized. The steward's conflicts were also minimized if he failed to recognize the contradictory elements in the expectations of others. From the data it appeared that this was frequently the case.

On the whole, stewards tended to perceive few contradictions between expectations or between their various roles. Even where they did so, no single pattern of adjustment was discernible.

Implications for Counseling:

Perhaps the greatest usefulness of this study for counseling is the description of the concepts of the ideal role, the social role, and the personal role and their interrelationships. This analytical framework can be useful to vocational counselors in analyzing all occupations.

In general, occupational information has stressed the ideal role. The psychological approach, including testing, has stressed the personal role, while little attention has been given the social role. The latter has too frequently been viewed as a constant when actually it is often more important for success or failure on the job than any other factor. Statements of individuals seeking counseling because of poor job adjustment often reflect this problem. These individuals often report feeling caught between the conflicting expectations of two or more supervisors.

The role of the shop steward is a difficult one, and it is not surprising that many factory workers express to counselors the feeling that their shop steward had let them down by not exerting sufficient effort in their behalf.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

"The material on the steward's role was obtained primarily through a field study of three CIO local unions, each affiliated with a different international." Information was gathered during the period from October, 1949 through July, 1950. "Information about these local unions was based primarily on schedule-guided interviews with stewards, key union officials, union members, and management representatives." These were supplemented by direct observations of union meetings and a survey of union stewards' manuals and other literature on the shop steward.

Cautions:

This study was an exploratory study "concerned with clarifying and giving content to an important sociological concept." While the limitations of such a study are all too apparent, one must also be aware of the fact that the steward's role is an enacted role in a particular organization and it may vary from one organization to another. "Hence, generalizations can be extended to other kinds of roles only with caution...."

Theoretical Orientation:

Three theoretical conceptions of role---the ideal, the social, and the personal---were examined in order to determine how expectations of various categories of persons affected patterns of behavior of the shop steward.

BUSINESS AGENT, LABOR UNION | **ABSTRACT** | D.O.T. Code: 187.118

Kornhouser, William. "The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII (March, 1952), pp. 443-452.

The research on Negro union officials, upon which this article is based, was carried on as a part of a larger project reported in the author's unpublished M.A. thesis, entitled, "Labor Unions and Race Relations: A Study of Union Tactics," University of Chicago, 1950.

Description:

"The color of a man's skin may lead to his sponsorship for or exclusion from a job." In certain situations "the color of a man's skin may have power or status or other functions for an organization or looser work group." The manner by which a Negro is selected for a high ranking office in a union with predominantly white membership illustrates these points.

I. Conditions Leading to Selection of Negro Union Officials:

"The conditions underlying the selection of a Negro for higher union office are twofold: (1) the 'push' of a sizeable Negro membership in the union and/or in the union's jurisdiction, and (2) the 'pull' of white leaders faced with a conflict in which their sponsorship of a Negro promises to have tactical advantage." The conflict that confronts union officials may be with another union, a faction within the union, management or some other group. Sponsorship of a Negro to a high-ranking union office denotes the anticipation or recognition of the power of the Negro as a group in the outcome of a conflict situation. Those persons who currently are in power in the union define which positions should be filled by Negroes.

The modes of recruitment in an organization vary from impersonal and formal processes to highly personal and informal processes. Sponsorship is of the latter variety. "Since it involves the use of personal power by some to pick others for entrance into and advancement within the hierarchy." Sponsorship of a Negro to union office usually originates from the white leadership and signifies consideration of sentiments of the Negro members. The sponsoring of the person to an office may follow either of the customary paths. "Either a person is chosen for nomination on the administration's or opposition's slate of candidates for elective offices or, if the position is appointive, he is put directly into office."

The research suggests that the career development of the Negro in the union in which Negroes are in the minority usually begins with his first being active in the local union office. He is later appointed to a staff position, which is followed by his election to a national office.

II. Functions of Selections of Negro Union Officials:

(a) Symbolic function: "The sponsors expect that the Negro in office under thei auspices will serve as a symbol of the union, or faction within it, to the Negroes

140

whose allegiance is sought." The very presence of the Negro in office symbolizes, first, the union leadership's interest in promoting Negro rights, and, second, serves to support and protect the Negroes' interest.

(b) Liaison function: The situation and role of the Negro union leader closely parallel those of the Negro personnel man described by Everett C. Hughes /" Queries Concerning Industry and Society," American Sociological Review, Vol. XIV, No. 2 (April, 1949), pp. 218/. The Negro official in the predominantly white union is usually given authority primarily over Negro members. In times of racial conflict, he is expected to "straighten things out" by "dealing with his own people." Although the formal constitution of an AFL craft union studied holds that all union offices have control over areas of activity (rather than over racial or ethnic membership groups), the presence of a Negro in an office tends to redefine the function of that office.

III. Consequences of Sponsorship for Negro Officials:

The Negro union leader occupying a paid position through the system of sponsorship is faced with a series of problems. He is caught between a Negro membership to which he owes his primary allegiance, and a white leadership to which he owes his position in the union. Both often make conflicting demands upon him. In such a situation, the Negro leader will tend to view his role as "ambassador" of the Negro rank-and-file members, "working as much as possible for the group while at the same time keeping the good will of the white leadership." On occasion, as a consequence, some Negro leaders develop a vested interest in the separate organization of Negroes (locals) within the same union. One white union official described just such a situation as follows:

> The main opposition to ending Jim Crow is from the Negro local itself. The fellows down there /where the union was trying to combine a white and Negro local into one local/ don't want to lose their union jobs. It's just like in the Negro baseball leagues up here. Now first the Majors are getting interested in Negro ball players, the Negro business men who stand to lose dough in the deal are hollering like hell. But they gotta choose between increasing mixture and business...the Negro leaders are kicking because they think that amalgamation will make them lose their jobs.

On the other hand, several Negro union leaders have indicated that one of their major problems is "to change the definition of them made by white leaders, that is, to break down the conception which makes them a special type of union member and official because they are Negroes."

There is evidence, however, to indicate that "once a Negro gets into a high position in the union, by means of small day-to-day acts he sometimes is able to change his initial role of sharply circumscribed functions to one covering wider and wider areas of action commensurate with that of the white man filling a formally equivalent office."

Implications for Counseling:

Since there are relatively few Negro union leaders, counselors are not likely to have many of these kinds of clients. In a general sense, however, this study is of significance because Negroes are being increasingly absorbed into the middle and higher levels of the occupational hierarchy.

In many cases, Negroes are likely to be treated as symbols first, and as individual workers hired to do a job, second. As symbols, they are faced with difficult problems of occupational adjustment, and counselors may expect cases of occupational maladjustment as a result of these Negroes' dual status. The Negro hired as a symbol cannot ordinarily play the occupational role in the same manner in which it would be played were he not a symbol. Being a symbol may conflict with the normal occupational role of the position he was hired to fill. On the other hand, workers hired as symbols are likely to be carefully screened and to have more than the usual requirements for the positions.

Adjustment problems of a different nature may arise when a sufficient number of Negroes have been hired by an organization so that they cease being symbols. Then, they are more likely to be evaluated for their work value than for their symbolic value.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"For a Negro to be selected for office in a predominantly white trade union, there must ordinarily be a sizeable Negro membership and the union must be facing a conflict. The typical mode of selection is sponsorship by white leaders who recognize the expediency of the sponsorship in meeting the conflict. The two major roles the sponsored Negro official plays---the symbolic and the liaison---support the white leaders' interests in maintaining control over the union. They present problems for the personal career of the Negro official, who consequently may try to modify them."

Methodology:

"The data were acquired through personal interviews, supplemented by questionnaires, analysis of documents, and perusal of secondary sources."

Cautions:

The cases reported here were discovered during the author's research on race-relations actions of the 34 largest national unions. In view of the paucity of knowledge on the careers of Negro union leaders, this article is of significance. Generalizations, however, may be applicable only to the type of organization studied at a particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

"It is suggested that by investigating the social characteristics imputed to and sought in new personnel by sponsors in various occupations, the conditions under which such attributes are singled out, and...the functions of the /recruit/ for the organizational or work group leadership, a more adequate picture of interrelations between personal careers and the institutions within which these careers are carried out may be drawn."

MANAGER, INSTITUTION (Prison Warden) D.O.T. Code: 187.118

ABSTRACT

Roucek, Joseph S., "Social Attitudes of the Prison Warden," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. XXI (November-December, 1936), pp. 170-174.

Description:

"The warden, on the whole, is typified by the social attitudes of a kind similar to that which a soldier meets during war time---with one major difference." The commanding officer, in most instances, is sure that the army, as well as his nation, stands behind him while he is in war. The warden, however, is never sure just when the public, or the prison inmates, will turn against him. He must be prepared at all times to face unforeseen troubles, not only within his institution (i.e., the prison), but from without---governors, legislators, prison officials, and other organized pressure groups.

This attitude of constant alertness and readiness can ruin a weak, nervous individual. The average duration of a warden's job is, therefore, relatively short. This is due not only to his mental and physical constitution, but also to the manner in which he is able to placate his superiors and keep the affairs of the institution running smoothly.

The typical prison, like any coercive institution, is characterized by a group of anti-social inmates, who seldom accept their fate of confinement without objections. In such a setting, the maintenance of discipline is a difficult task. The most successful warden depends on the moral basis of his authority, which resembles that exercised by a general over his army. In contrast, however, the ideals and goals of the prison are different. The inmate does not consider the training and discipline of the prison as a goal which will bring him promotion, advancement, or success. The prisoner looks upon the penitentiary as a place of horror, "a place wherein any kind of work and discipline is an imposition from above." Thus, the prisoner does his work haphazardly, and evades responsibility and discipline whenever possible. The prison administrator is daily confronted with innumerable requests for special privileges. If the warden grants these requests easily and indiscriminately, he may soon appear in the eyes of his prisoners as a fool who lacks judgment.

The warden learns, therefore, to be suspicious of everybody with whom he comes in contact. He learns to probe deeper into the men's motivations. Because so many of the requests are foolish and unreasonable, the typical warden will be pessimistic and see the worst in each individual.

The warden has a tendency to become equally suspicious of his associates and guards, and frequently punishes them for infractions of the rules. This, naturally, induces the guards to evade their responsibilities further.

In time, the prevailing general attitude of suspicion may develop into a mania, and the warden then becomes unreasonable; unable to understand that some prisoners and guards may have reasonable demands and worthy motives. "Most guards and prisoners will fear him...and may get...to tne point of feeling quite gratified by 'putting something over' him."

The problems of the typical warden are further complicated by the constant questioning of the various civil groups interested in prison welfare. In case of trouble in the prison, the warden has to face the possibility of investigation by the governor or by the legislation. Such procedure is very much resented and feared because the individuals conducting these investigations are mostly political appointees who know nothing about the problems of the warden. They are in the position, however, to make his life miserable by criticizing his manner of administration.

Under such circumstances, the warden assumes a suspicious attitude not only toward inmates and prison officials, but toward other individuals who may show any interest, either benevolent or malicious, toward the prison.

Implications for Counseling:

It is unlikely that counselors will have the opportunity or obligation of counseling many, or even any, clients in respect to the choice of prison warden as a goal. This article is useful, however, in understanding the administrative atmosphere in which prison employees work, and in which prisoners serve time.

The description of the dilemmas of a prison warden has considerable transfer value in understanding the problems of many other managerial personnel in institutions, including school superintendents and principals.

It should be helpful to the counselor in discussing any kind of institutional position with clients to be aware of the potency of the institutional climate in increasing or decreasing the job satisfaction of the employee. It is likewise helpful in understanding the institutional pressures exerted on the prisoners, students, or patients, as the case may be, in an institutional setting.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Information for this study was gathered through mailed questionnaires.

Cautions:

In view of the scanty information with regard to research methods used in the study, the findings should be interpreted with caution.

Theoretical Orientation:

Conflicting goals of correction officials and inmates cause the prison warden to live in a constant state of anxiety.

UNDERTAKER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 187.168

Habenstein, Robert. "Conflicting Organizational Patterns in Funeral Directing," Human Organization, Vol. XXII, No. 2 (Summer, 1963), pp. 126-132.

Description:

This article describes two polar types of funeral service establishments: the mass-mortuary and the local funeral home. The conflicting organizational patterns are emphasized as the study focuses on the following variables: nature of service contact, nature of community orientation, unit of operation, occupational goal, and personnel organization.

I. The Mass-Mortuary:

A. Nature of service contact - "The mass-mortuary is organized in such a manner that no one person can assume a consistently central role in the conduct of each funeral service." Instead of having one man---the funeral director---in charge of services, there are "corps of trained specialists, standardized in demeanor and action, and interchangeable...at any stage of the funeralization process."

The service at such an establishment is characterized by impersonality, and there is an underlying sense of urgency imparted to the situation. "Time, not rapport, becomes the essence."

B. Nature of community orientation - The mass-mortuary often draws its clientele by mass advertising from the large trade area extending beyond a single community. In its relationship to clients, "there is an erosion of community controls...It is a commercial relation, based on the "mass-cash-nexus."

C. Unit of operation - In the process of "service," the clients lose their kinship and community characteristics. They become "cases" or "units" "about whom the mass morticians can make only the vaguest and most general identifying characterizations." The establishment's relationship to the survivors is analogous to the buyer-seller type of contractual relationship.

D. Occupational goal - The goal of the mass-mortuary is unlimited business and profits. Success of the business is measured by its "share" in the total amount of retail and service trade business conducted in that particular area.

E. Personnel organization - Employees of the mass-mortuary are categorized according to their specialties. The mass establishment will usually have maintenance and custodial personnel; apprentice embalmers---low paid laborers who, in time, will go to different establishments for more permanent jobs; embalmers, who are paid weekly salaries; cosmeticians and beauticians, quite often women; assistants to the managing director; an assistant managing director; and a director. Above these offices, there may be a series of corporation executives, proprietors, or managers. "Chauffeurs are likely to be organized with hackmen, generally, and have become a quasi-independent group."

3

Most workers at the lower levels are either organized or drifting toward union organization. For example, the embalmers, in their anxiety to become organized, have joined the grave diggers and the teamsters unions. Union organization is more likely to be present in the large corporation-type operations but the "union idea" has been creeping into smaller, non-mass types too. Operators of the mass-mortuaries regard the union as a sort of necessary evil---an organization having some advantages perhaps---yet one not to be encouraged. Union contracts are frequently handled by the local funeral directors' association.

The personnel of the mass-mortuary will seek mobility within their occupational speciality. Mobility within the same establishment is difficult since one has to cross over his field of specialization in order to move up in the organizational hierarchy. For instance, "an embalmer, no matter how he may have seen himself in training at a school of mortuary science, must come to see himself in the future as still an embalmer, and not as the funeral director of the establishment." He has been hired for his technical skill, and chances are that he will be performing that specific task throughout his employment.

The mass-mortuary treats its personnel in an impersonal, bureaucratic fashion.

II. The Local Funeral Home

In contrast to the mass-mortuary, "the local funeral home operates on the premise that the clientele receive, or should receive personal, i.e., sympathetic understanding, in a social, or status-connected relationship to the funeral director."

A. Nature of service contact - "The local funeral home is organized so that the clientele can always feel certain they will have their funeral services handled by THE funeral director, whom they know personally."

The personality of the funeral director is an important factor in this type of business establishment. "It is the comfort we give that counts and brings the people back. If you don't have the kind of personality that will permit you to give comfort and sincere sympathy to the people, you just don't stay in the game," remarked one funeral director to the author.

B. Nature of community orientation - The local funeral home is considered to be part of the community. In its style, it reflects the expression of personal sentiment and family and community social relationships.

The local funeral director regards himself as a member of the community and usually participates extensively in community projects and philanthropic drives.

C. Unit of operation - The local funeral director conceives of the dead in terms of social and personal relations. To him a funeral is both a family and a community event. He aims to give service to the family and his fee "is attuned to the socio-economic circumstances of the dead as a member of a family and holder of a community status." Only for incidental bookkeeping purposes will the clients ever become a "unit" or a "case" at the local funeral home. "We must never allow clients to become just another case on the books that must show profit....We should be demonstrating our value to the profession and to the community not through high pressure salesmanship but in good personal relations with those we serve," a prominent Milwaukee funeral director advised the Wisconsin Funeral Directors' Association a few years ago.

D. Occupational goal - The business goal of the local funeral home is defined according to community attitudes. These attitudes usually permit profitable operations so that the funeral director can live a comfortable, middle-class, quasi-professional existence. "Should it appear /however/ that the funeral director is 'profiteering in sorrow', community sanctions in the form of withdrawal of trade and 'talk' will either force his operations into an approved form, or eventually he will be out of business."

In many instances, the local funeral home performs services at loss; in other instances, it may make up the differences. There may be charity cases for which the funeral director never sends the bill. In contrast, mass-mortuary practices approve the use of collection agencies to collect from survivors---a practice which not only collects the debt but includes, as well, interest on the unpaid balance.

E. Personnel organization - The local funeral home type of operation stresses a traditional orientation toward the help on the part of the funeral director; factors such as age, length of time served, and mastery of skill are important in the organization of work. Most significant, however, is the quasi-family relationship that binds together the funeral director and the employees.

Historically, the local funeral business is a family enterprise. The son, who begins as an apprentice, usually takes over the business in time. If there is no son, the son-in-law would take over. Or, if the young male relatives are not interested in learning the trade, "a promising assistant would be worked into a partnership, and would eventually have the business as his own."

In the organization of work, the employees are not separated into distinct categories of "management" and "labor." Instead, they form a small group, "possibly two or three members of a work family to whom he /the funeral director/ is committed with respect to security, advancement, and concern for their selves---as persons....As problems arise the examples and experiences of the past stand as guideposts." Employees of the local funeral home do not seek labor union representation. They consider themselves just as much a part of the establishment as the director himself.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselors are usually little concerned with the recruitment of entry workers who are relatives of undertakers since these people enter the occupation without recourse to vocational counseling. Counselors are more likely to be concerned with entry workers who have no family connections in the field and who attend trade schools to prepare for the occupation. For such individuals, the occupation sometimes approximates a "glamour" occupation in which they maximize the opportunities and minimize the obstacles. The counselor will want the client to be certain that he can, in fact, enter an apprenticeship after he finishes trade school--if such is required in that particular locale, as it is in some states. The long hours and relatively low pay are frequently overlooked by clients who focus on the glamour aspects of the occupation.

Moving from the position of embalmer to that of funeral director ordinarily involves either inheriting the family business or acquiring a substantial amount of capital in order to make the high initial investment. In this respect, the occupational field is similar to retailing areas.

There may be some incompatibility between the requirements for the embalmer, whose training and orientation are scientific in nature, and the funeral director, whose position involves a mixture of business, sales, and a social service orientation. Since it is presumed that most clients contemplating embalming as an occupation are looking beyond this to the goal of funeral directing, these differences and the conflict that could ensue as a result of them should be pointed out.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Information for this article was collected by methods of personal interview, observation, and examination of trade journals and reports.

Cautions:

Unfortunately, the author gives scanty information about the methodology upon which his findings are based. Of interest, however, is the theoretical scheme--the particular configuration of variables and their impact upon the work organization.

Theoretical Orientation:

The author develops a theoretical scheme for the analysis of funeral homes. The variables under consideration are: nature of service contact, community orientation, unit of operation, business goal, and personnel organization. "Each variable is dichotomous, consisting...of two polar opposite definitions of situations." These variables tend to cluster in a particular fashion to form the basic establishment orientations of funeral directing, the mass-mortuary practices, and the local funeral home operations.

CITY MANAGER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 188.118

Floro, George K. "Continuity in City-Manager Careers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXI, No. 3 (November, 1955), pp. 240-246.

Description:

This article reports on conditions and processes which give continuity to the career of the city manager. The city manager is the chief administrative officer in cities having the council-manager form of government. He is an appointed official who is directly responsible to the appointive board. He may be either a resident or a non-resident of the city which hires him. The council-manager form of government requires that the administrative official be brought in from outside the city or be uninvolved with local political factions. Such a requirement is designed to make possible the appointment of persons who are unencumbered by obligations which would hinder efficient administration.

The nature of the role tends to make the manager a perpetual "newcomer" in a locality. He is faced with the problem of regulating involvement---of becoming substantially involved in local affairs but not too involved. The regulation of involvement is one of the focal concerns of the occupational group.

Among the occupational norms that are related to the problem of regulated involvement are the following:

1. A manager should be willing to resign to protect his integrity as a manager, the local manager office, the manager profession, and the manager plan.
2. A manager is not expected to remain in a city if it is necessary to "fight" to retain his appointment.
3. A manager is expected to remain sufficiently free of local commitments so that he can use a resignation threat if (a) the special character of his office is in jeopardy or (b) the city council becomes committed to a course of action which might require the manager to violate his ethical code.
4. The manager should make realistic plans; he should retain his integrity as a professional and his view as an "outsider."
5. A manager should stay long enough in a particular city to contribute substantially to its development.
6. A manager should not stay so long in a particular city that he becomes involved in local affairs to the extent that he cannot perform the duties he should.

Managers who do not live up to these norms are deemed "non-professional". They have never achieved the regulation of involvement which would permit them to do what a manager presumably should do.

The occupational ideal is characterized by two distinctive prototypes, the "advancement by moving" manager and the "prominent" one-city manager. The former involves movement to successively more prized manager cities, and the latter entails the establishment of a reputation of being the manager of an especially well-managed city. In both cases, the manager must adhere to the occupational norms and maintain his "potential to move."

Implications for Counseling:

Relatively few clients will be seen for whom the goal of city manager is either a sought-after or an appropriate goal. For those few who do have such a goal, however, this material is a most useful supplement to the usual information about education, training, and salaries.

The discussion of the problem of involvement provides a greater understanding of this important aspect found in a number of occupations. These insights have broad applications to such occupations as that of the high school principal, the clergyman (in those denominations where clergymen are moved frequently), and the state trooper (in those states where troopers are moved frequently) in which the degree of community involvement is a key factor in successful adjustment to the occupation.

Such implications can also be related to the occupations of counselor, psychiatrist, psychologist, and social worker in which the degree of involvement is a key issue, although it is usually expressed in one-to-one relationships. Group workers such as community organizers, group social workers, group therapists, recreation workers, and teachers face similar problems with groups. It is difficult to know what personality characteristics are related to this complex ability to estimate and control degree of involvement. Presumably, we should look for some self-awareness and objectivity. Clues about these qualities may emerge in the client's discussion of himself and his relations with others. It should be noted that such qualities are easier to trace in adult clients because they are more likely to have been exposed to situations in which this involvement problem was encountered.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"This report on the city manager is a step in formulating an occupational model. The manager office illuminates the adjustment problems, the individual striving to advance, and occupational group controls. Manager judgments of 'moving' and 'staying' refer to adjustment processes and individual orientations. Movement per se is subordinate to these. Regulated involvements in local affairs protect the office and enable the manager to define his obligations. Segments in a career can be carved out by conceptualizing tenure in accomplishment units. A 'potential to move,' as a summary of conditions and processes, combines the segments and is the basis of occupational security and advancement."

Methodology:

Interviews with city managers in 55 Michigan cities were conducted.

Cautions:

Generalizations are based on a non-representative sample of city managers.

Theoretical Orientation:

Every occupation has characteristic problems and group-involved solutions to those problems. These normatively-regulated solutions define the occupational style of life, the occupational ideal, and the appropriate patterns of upward mobility. One of the most salient problems of the city manager is that of regulated involvement in local affairs. The occupational code of the city manager involves prescriptions and proscriptions designed to insure the appropriate degree of involvement. The person who lives up to the occupational ideal maintains the appropriate level of involvement and in other ways demonstrates his administrative expertise.

RADIO OPERATOR ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 193.282

Record, Jane Cassels. "The Marine Radioman's Struggle for Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXII, No. 4 (January, 1957), pp. 353-359.

Description:

From the days of sailing ships, a sharp distinction has existed between ship officers and crewmen. At the top of the occupational hierarchy of shipboard society stood the captain or master, followed by the various grades of deck officers. Below the corps of licensed officers, the crew was differentiated as petty officers, able seamen, and ordinary seamen. Subsequent governmental licensing and rating of maritime personnel by a "chain of command" reinforced the already existing social status distinctions of the seamen. (The chain of command extended from the captain down through the mates and petty officers to the deck sailor.)

When steam replaced the sail in the 19th century, the engine room staff had to be accommodated into the hierarchy. Two new rungs were added to the existing classes: "the first for engineering officers, just below captains and mates; the second for firemen, oilers and other crewmen, just below the deck sailors."

Unionization of the maritime industry at the turn of the century formalized and preserved these craft and status distinctions. In 1910, when the United States government began to require that passenger liners be equipped with radio--a technological innovation--room for the instrument as well as for its operator had to again be made in the ship's hierarchy.

The installation of the radio aroused skepticism and some hostility, especially on the part of the captain. Since it enabled company officials to reach the captain in mid-voyage and, for instance, order him to change his destination, the radio had the effect of reducing the captain's sphere of authority which, in the past, had been virtually unlimited once the ship left port.

"The radioman found it difficult to place himself in shipboard society.... On some vessels he was treated as a member of the crew; on others he had many officer privileges." Most frequently, however, he was a marginal man, straddling the division between officers and crewmen and having no clear self-image and well-defined status.

In the 1930's, the radio operators' union---the Marine Division of the American Communications Association (ACA)---set out to win full officer status for its members. By the 1940's, it succeeded in inserting clauses in its collective bargaining agreements which guaranteed privileges to the radiomen which were equal to those enjoyed by officers.

The contract provisions, however, made the radioman's ambiguous status more pronounced. Though he enjoyed officer privileges, he lacked the necessary license of such. His official status, according to papers issued by the BMNI (Marine Navigation and Inspection) was the same as that of a deck sailor, a fireman, or a steward. (The FCC license merely certified that the applicant was a competent radio technician.)

Beginning in 1937, the ACA was instrumental in sponsoring a series of congressional bills to grant BMNI officer licenses to the radio operators. In 1948, Congress finally amended the Merchant Marine Act to require the BMNI to license radio operators as ship officers along with mates and engineers. Two subsequent events involving the radiomen's union, however, illustrated that it would take more than an act of Congress to change the marginal status of the marine radiomen in the eyes of other licensed officers.

The first event occurred shortly after the new licensing law was passed. The marine radio operators seceded from the ACA because of political disputes. When their merger with the MEBA---the engineers' CIO union---was unsuccessful, they formed a separate organization, the ARA (American Radio Association). In 1953, the CIO and AF of L engineers' associations agreed upon a "mutual assistance pact." Significantly, the radio operators received no invitation to become a party to this mutual assistance pact, although, in the past, they had had an impressive record for joining coalitions and backing fellow unions on strike.

The second important event was the ARA's jurisdictional dispute over the new technological innovation, the radiophone. Radiophone first appeared on the Great Lakes shipping vessels where it replaced the radio operators. Sensing a threat to its security, especially if the new device were to become perfected for greater distance, the ARA union began maneuvering on the Pacific coast to gain control over the operation and maintenance of the new instrument. First, by claiming an increased workload, it secured a $10.00 monthly special bonus from the PMA when the phones were installed in the radio room. Then, it pushed for complete control by changing the wording in its contracts. The battle became intense, especially in those cases where the phones had been installed on the bridge or in the captain's stateroom. In April, 1953, following a strike, a settlement was reached and "the MMP formally renounced jurisdiction over the operation and maintenance of 'any radio or electronic communication devices on American Fleet vessels.' "

The foregoing historical development illustrates how a group of craft workers, the radio operators, used their union as a vehicle of upward mobility. The radiomen's aspirations for higher status contributed significantly to and were clearly reflected in the jurisdictional dispute. Comments from both sides illustrated this fact. One captain revealed his concern with the protocol of status when he said that he was "not going to run down to any radio shack every time I want to use the phone." On the other side, radiomen, in discussing the issue, minimized the importance of the captain's role in the operation of the ship now that the navigation had become so dependent upon electronic devices. One union representative made the following comments: "Actually, you could almost run a ship with an automatic pilot. If any of the mechanical equipment goes on the blink, the Radio Officer is the only guy who can fix it. So, looking to the future, who's the most important man aboard?"

The importance of social status in the occupational hierarchy of the ship takes on a new dimension when one realizes that the radioman, like all other seamen, "must live as well as work within the structure of shipboard society for long periods of time." Unlike the ordinary workingman who by his choice of dress and equipment in his leisure time can lose his occupational identity in the diverse and impersonal urban society, the seaman's pattern of life on duty and in free hours is regulated by his occupational status. In the compactness of the shipboard community, the man's identity is known to all at all times.

The overall record of the union and the ARA's particular preoccupation with status takes on added significance when these far reaching implications of occupational designation in shipboard society are taken into consideration.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselors should be aware of the pressures exerted by status changes in an occupation and how individual problems are created and resolved within this framework. Legislated status may or may not be congruent with the perceptions of closely related occupational groups, either in the case of the marine radiomen or such an occupation as that of psychologist.

The occupation of marine radioman is a most interesting one from many points of view. Like the occupation of musician, photographer, interpreter, and artist, it is one in which there is a supply of highly competent amateurs who would be qualified to enter the field as professionals with a minimum of additional training or break-in. As with the occupation of airplane pilot, it is an occupation in which military training is offered which comes very close to qualifying workers for the civilian equivalent. Consequently, there is a surplus of almost-qualified workers in the civilian labor market.

The reference group of marine radio operators is not the work group in the immediate work area. Different from most such occupations which have geographically distant reference groups, this group is in almost continuous communication.

Finally, it is the unsupported opinion of this writer that marine radiomen are likely to be recruited from " hams" whose involvement with radio starts in early adolescence. There appears to be no reported research or even discussion of how radio "hams," amateur musicians, etc., fit into recent theories of vocational choice development. In these occupations, reality testing is carried on during the time that the peer group is in the fantasy stage. When the peer group is in the reality testing stage, the adolescent musician is playing one-night stands as a "pro." At that age, radio operators are communicating with other "hams" with almost the proficiency of the professional marine radio operator.

It is likely that clients with whom counseling in respect to this occupation is carried on are already firmly committed to some aspect of radio as an occupational field. Counseling, in this case, is mostly concerned with a choice among the branches of the field---of which the marine radioman would be one. Choice may well be made on the basis of the conditions of work, status, etc., rather than on the basis of technical aspects of the work itself.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Labor solidarity can be breached not only by jurisdictional disputes, ideological differences, and personal rivalries but by struggles for status. The merchant-marine radio operator, marginal man of a hierarchial shipboard society, used his union as an instrument of upward mobility to dissociate himself from common crew members and rise into the officer ranks. Not satisfied to write officer privileges into its collective-bargaining contracts, the union successfully sought congressional confirmation of the higher status, only to have its members continue to encounter something less than full acceptance by deck and engineering officers, organized in separate craft unions."

Methodology:

Data for this article were drawn from historical facts and interviews with union representatives.

Cautions:

Generalizations may be made only with caution since the article, for the most part, reflects the author's personal interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

The radio operators' real status is not entirely a matter of offical designation. Transition from the borderline (marginal) status to full officerhood, in this instance, depended upon changes in the minds of the other licensed officers. Subsequent events demonstrated that this would take more than an act of Congress.

Wager, Leonard W. "Career Patterns and Role Problems of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1959.*

Description:

This study reports on the career patterns and role problems of airline pilots affiliated with one major airline company in the Chicago area.

The emergence of the occupational role of airline pilot has occurred within the past 30 years. Evidence indicates that many of the first generation airline pilots are now reaching retirement age. This fact, especially, makes the findings of the present study useful.

On the whole, airline pilots are highly educated, yet their educational level does not approach that of the engineer or teacher. As a group, they tend to come from families of higher socio-economic levels. Of interest is the fact that the occupation itself has emerged so recently that practically no occupational inheritance has occurred as yet from father to son. The majority of the pilots have a military background. It appears that airline companies have depended heavily upon the military services to screen and initially train their potential airline pilot supply. The gradual transition of the military to unmanned missiles, however, threatens the future of this convenient recruitment relationship with the military. The data indicated that airline pilots who contemplated such a career while they were youngsters tended to receive more encouragement in recent years than was given to youngsters in the past.

The patterns of initial contact between prospective airline pilots and the employer airline are shifting. Based on the distribution of responses, the patterns may be described as follows: ..."from hearing through friends or relatives in the early flying days---to company recruitment during World War II---to personal effort for the veterans immediately following the war---to a more passive knowledge through newspapers and magazines in recent years." It appeared that friends and relatives were important sources of information in making initial contacts with the airline company.

Airline pilots may be characterized as occupationally and industrially immobile. The pilots operate under a seniority system. Movement from one company to another results in the loss of accumulated seniority. Although pilots do not move from one job to another, they progress from copilot status to captain status within the cockpit, or may move from one geographical location (called domicile) to another within the same company. The latter processes are examples of vertical mobility within the occupation.

According to the data, the majority of airline pilots never held any other commercial or paid, non-military jobs prior to their employment with the airline company studied.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

The research suggested that the airline pilot's career is characterized by increasingly longer time periods between important career steps. The increasing time span serves to delay the acquisition of major rewards, i.e., higher income, better flight schedules. Several organizational and interactional problems arise from this lengthened time span. A longer time is being spent in reserve copilot and captain positions. Reserve status implies that the pilot must be on call as replacements for other pilots who are unable to meet their schedules. Before being upgraded, the copilot must successfully pass through the "transition" school which qualifies him for the captain phase of the career. Discussions with copilots revealed that their major concern was with preparations leading to the transition school. Several patterns to alleviate the threat posed by the upgrading procedure were observed: (a) at certain domiciles, the prospective copilot will attempt "to bid and fly with captains who will facilitate the copilot's preparation for upgrading by giving flight time in the left seat to the copilot who is preparing for upgrading; (b) reduce the risk of failure at upgrading school by spending additional time flying in the aircraft which is used in upgrading school;... (c) ask each captain they fly with for tips for getting through upgrading."

Following the successful completion of the upgrading school, a protracted period of time elapses before the captain assumes command of a regular monthly schedule.

On the whole, the number of transition schools intercepting the career paths of airline pilots tends to increase. These schools generally serve to qualify and "check out" pilots for the operation of new types of planes. Sequence of attendance at these schools varies among the pilots. It appears that the time span for movement from one school to another is being shortened for the pilots who are in either copilot or captain phases of their careers.

The shift and trends in the career sequence of airline pilots reflect (1) the company's expansion, made possible by the post-war growth in air travel; and (2) the impact of technology, particularly the introduction of new types of aircraft in passenger service.

Regardless of his experience, the pilot cannot choose at what level he feels qualified to enter the career hierarchy. Today, airline pilots begin as copilots and must follow the career progression to the captain status. One cannot choose to skip the copilot phase, for example. Alternative choices exist, however, for either speeding up or slowing down the progression, i.e., domicile transfer.

The research identified five major types of contingencies "as potential risk points in movement through the airline pilot career." At these contingency points, the risks for misjudging the expected behavior of significant others are the greatest. The five types of contingency points to which airline pilots are exposed are as follows: Institutionalized contingencies, domicile transfers, technical emergencies and irregularities, interpersonal crises, and crescive worries.

Institutionalized contingencies: Refer to the various performance check points, i.e., upgrading schools, monthly progress reports regarding the performance of the new copilot, examination after first year of service, "hood checks" (i.e., demonstrating technical competency) for captains, route checks, and three annual physical examinations. Unlike other occupational careers in which the principal hurdles are concentrated in the initial phase of the career, and additional contingency points are of limited consequence, the mature airline pilot is periodically exposed to major institutionalized obstacles and check points throughout his career.

Domicile transfers: Refer to movement of residence and operation from one company station to another at some point in the pilot's career. The movement is referred to as horizontal movement. Generally it is undertaken to facilitate progression to the captain phase of the career. In some instances, domicile transfer is utilized, however, to preserve the career *status quo*. The desirability of domiciles is ranked according to: the reputation of flight managers; the reputation of the director of flight operations; the type and number of schedules which are flown from the domicile; the climate and weather; the degree of air traffic congestion; the community, i.e., schools and housing in the area; and according to the degree of physical separation from the higher management.

Technical emergencies and irregularities: Refer to crisis situations which are unpredictable, yet crucially affect the career progress evaluation of the pilots.

Interpersonal crises: Are situations where conflict arises over issues, because of personality differences between the copilot and the captain, or between them and related personnel.

Crescive worries: Refer to certain attitudes of some pilots toward their occupation and toward a combination of the occupation and their personal life, growing out of the changing needs and conditions of the industry.

The evidence suggests that junior copilots and junior captains are more concerned with all of the possible contingency points, with the exception of domicile transfers, than are senior copilots and captains. It appears that the emergence of institutionalized rules and bureaucratic practices in the occupation resulted in the pilots' increased awareness and sensitivity to the conflicting role expectations which they and significant others hold.

Among the changes which suggest a trend toward bureaucratic practices and which greatly affect the pilots are rules aimed at standardization of flight performances, adoption of a seniority system, and increased formality and impersonality within the organization.

It appears that the mere existence of the rules and the possibility of their enforcement create stress among the pilots. The situation is especially crucial, for instance, when passenger and aircraft safety demands the infraction of certain rules. The pilots are unclear about the norms guiding decisions in such emergency situations; they do not know what constitutes acceptable minimum performance under the circumstances, nor do they know what is considered a violation of that minimum performance. Finally, it was observed in the company studied that the structuring of airline operations does not encourage the emergence of cohesive, relatively permanent work teams and colleague relationships.

Although this present research did not focus on the aspects of physical health of airline pilots as a major contingency point, indications are that this topic will receive increasing attention from the airline companies and, hence, from the pilot groups. Dependence and commitment to an airline flying career, in view of an aging airline pilot population, eventually will raise the question of planning for secondary careers with an appropriate level of income while the person is still primarily employed as an airline pilot. The questionnaire data suggested that "the modal age to which pilots 'realistically expect to fly' falls between fifty and fifty-four years of age for slightly under 50 per cent of the pilots."

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors are often concerned with glamour occupations and the unrealistic attitudes of counselees who choose them. The airplane pilot is a glamour occupation and the airline pilot, second only to the astronaut and the test pilot, is the prestige occupation among flying occupations. Hopefully, counselees who perceive the occupation of airline pilot as a carefree, daredevil one will benefit from this report which emphasizes the bureaucratic aspects of the occupation. The passing of upgrading schools and the use of various quality control devices as an integral part of the occupation create anxieties of a special kind, found in few occupations once the individual has reached the journeyman level.

Counselors may also be concerned with helping retired airline pilots plan second careers. A major problem here may be the likelihood that the second career will represent a steep downhill slide in terms of status and income.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Data for this study were collected from two sources. First, a six-page questionnaire was mailed to a random sample of airline pilots comprising the membership of the Airline Pilots' Association, International. Of the 458 questionnaires, 418 were returned. The questionnaire solicited information regarding the type, timing, and sequence of stages in the flying careers of these pilots; as well as traditional background data reflecting the education, socio-economic level of origin, and last non-military occupation and/or specific job.

Second, information was obtained by semi-directed interviews held with 52 airline pilots employed by a major airline company in the Chicago area. "The objective of these interviews was to identify the range of role problems which confront the airline pilot at different stages in his career and the multiple social processes which engage the pilots as they move through the various stages of their careers."

Cautions:

Findings presented here are applicable only to conditions that prevailed in the industry and at the particular company studied at the time of the research.

Theoretical Orientation:

"The conceptual scheme which provided the framework for this study views work society in particular, and society in general, as a series of positions through which people pass during their various careers, noting the objective sequence of positions, and noting the related meanings of these various sequences to the...participants." Such a perspective permits focusing upon "the points of contingency which encompass this series of positions, and examine(s) the shifting career patterns, interactional configurations and self-conceptions which result from exposure to a particular occupational pattern."

SECRETARY (clerical) D.O.T. Code: 201.368
STENOGRAPHER (clerical) ABSTRACT 202.388

Bryant, Clifton D. "White-Collar Women: The Secretarial-Stenographic Occupation." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 1957.*

Description:

I. The Secretarial and Stenographic Occupation:

The duties in the secretarial and stenographic occupations tend to overlap and both occupational fields fall within the white collar, middle-class range.

The glamour of the title itself is an inducement to enter the occupation.

Success in the occupation is influenced by one's adaptability to conditions and ability to conform and imitate. "The bohemian, radical or individual, or... the reactionary or stagnant individual is seldom regarded by more than exclusion, ridicule, or ostracism" in this particular occupation.

The occupational stereotype of the secretary has been frequently described in both fiction and non-fiction. She has been pictured as the "real aristocrat of the office workers." She probably has "an office of her own and chances by the dozen to meet the great and the near-great who come to do business with 'the boss.' There's an even chance that this young lady is the power behind the throne." In reality, however, the secretary may have to contend with a number of unpleasant situations which are not mentioned in the occupational stereotype. According to Mills:

> The white-collar girl in the big city often looks back on her high school period in the small town as the dress rehearsal for something that never came off. The personal clique of the high school is not replaced by the impersonal unity of the office; the adolescent status equality is not replaced by the hierarchy of the city;...the high school camaraderie of anticipations is not fulfilled by the realization of life-fate in the white-collar world. (C. Wright Mills, White Collar. New York: Oxford University Press, 1951, pp. 202.)

II. Findings:

A group of working girls from the secretarial ranks as well as from other occupations were studied in an attempt to determine whether the secretarial-stenographic occupation significantly affected the behavior or attitudes of the individuals once they had become members of the occupation.

(1) Background Characteristics:

Apparently, the secretarial occupation did not attract individuals from families of any particular socio-economic status. The data indicated that the parents of the respondents subscribed to traditional values in their church participation and the use of alcohol and tobacco. A statistically significant finding was that girls in the secretarial group were likely to come from a hometown with a population of less than 1,000. Indications were that the occupation attracted individuals with rural backgrounds.

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

(2) Behavior Patterns of Secretaries and Non-Secretaries Compared:

Although they were statistically non-significant, there were indications that the secretaries tended to visit their homes frequently. When they first began working or were still in commercial school, neither group of girls had dated boys of high status level although there was a sharp tendency for the secretaries to date boys of middle-class status. At the time of the study, the secretaries were shown to be dating boys of high status level. The data indicated that in the past, secretaries had a somewhat traditional orientation toward church attendance and/or participation, and the use of alcohol and tobacco. In comparison to their parents' attitudes, a shift to a secular orientation was shown. Changes in attitudes of non-secretaries were less than those of secretaries.

A comparison of the living arrangements characteristic of the occupational group showed that secretaries preferred to share an apartment or a room with someone. Neither the secretaries and stenographers nor members of the other occupational group tended to live with a hometown girlfriend, however.

The evidence indicated that secretaries found somewhat more satisfaction in their work than did the non-secretaries and that the former group was less likely to be dissatisfied. The secretaries saw the social environment and occupational opportunities found in the work situation as more important than did members of the non-secretarial group. The non-secretaries emphasized the physical conditions of work. The authors found that the secretaries, on the whole, appeared to be "opportunists and consider their occupations as a 'means' to an end, while non-secretaries consider their occupations as an end in itself, or merely a means of 'eating lunch' regularly."

Secretaries and non-secretaries differed in describing the desirable characteristics of prospective husbands. The secretaries ranked education first in importance, followed by family background to some extent. Non-secretaries were somewhat more concerned with the factors of prestige and income of the men's occupation.

In a comparison of the two occupational groups, secretaries ranked their occupation considerably higher in prestige than did the non-secretaries.

III. Inferences and Suggestions:

While the study itself gave little evidence that a relationship exists between behavioral attitudes and a given occupation, the tendencies are sufficient to justify the assumption " that occupation exerts some degree of influence on the lives of its members." A more thorough study of occupations "may uncover further evidence of such influence..." The inferences drawn by the researcher that the "secretarial occupation gives its members a long range vertical mobility perspective" provides considerable room for further research in this sphere.

Implications for Counseling:

For the vocational counselor's needs, the secretarial occupation is an extremely satisfactory one because it is flexible and meets so many different needs for so many different counselees. It may be considered either a permanent career or a stepping stone to something else. It may be part-time, or it may be combined with a number of other skills to provide variety. There is a wide range of complexity and responsibility within the occupation, offering differential opportunities for individuals of a wide range of abilities. It may be pursued intermittently and hence combined with a career as housewife and mother. The physical conditions at work are good, an important factor for women. It requires enough training so that there is usually a shortage of desirable applicants; yet, the training is neither as long nor as expensive as a college education.

This is such a visible occupation that a study of much greater depth than this one is needed in order to unearth information not commonly known.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Members of a working girls' sorority, Beta Sigma Phi, in the Jackson, Mississippi Chapter were the subjects for this study. Sixty-eight completed questionnaires were obtained from the membership total of ninety-five girls. The data permitted comparisons between twenty-nine secretaries or stenographers and a control group of thirty-nine non-secretaries in regard to certain characteristics which are presumed to be influenced by the respective occupational fields.

Cautions:

The relatively small sample drawn from specified populations limits the broad generalization of this study. Frequent cases of non-response on the part of the individuals limited adequate statistical manipulation of the data.

Theoretical Orientation:

Following the theoretical framework of Hughes, Caplow, Mills, and others in the field of the sociology of work, it is recognized that:

> A man's occupation exerts a most powerful influence in assigning [to] him and to his immediate family their place in society....The work a man does to earn his livelihood stamps him with mental and physical traits characteristic of the form and level of his labor, defines his circle of friends and acquaintances, affects the use of his leisure...limits his interests and attainment of his aspirations and tends to set the boundaries of his culture. (Percy E. Davidson and H. Dewey Anderson, Occupational Trends, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940, p. 1.)

MAIL CARRIER (gov.ser.) ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 233.388

Harper, Dean, and Emmert, Frederick. "Work Behavior in a Service Industry," Social Forces, Vol. XLII, No. 2 (December, 1963), pp. 216-225.

Description:

This study was concerned with the organization of work behavior in one large public service industry, the postal service.

A. Official Norms:

1. The Career of the Letter Carrier: The official job of the letter carrier consists of sorting the incoming mail for people on his route, delivering it, collecting the letters deposited in the mail boxes along his route, and performing various other related duties.

The applicant who successfully passes the civil service examination and accepts employment begins his career as a substitute carrier. As such, he is paid on an hourly basis, and is assured a minimum of two hours of work a day. He may work on a number of different routes, may work in the evenings collecting mail, or, on occasion, he may be assigned to work as a distributor clerk. As he gains seniority, he will bid for a vacant, salaried, regular carrier position. The next step in the career pattern would be for him to seek promotion to the supervisory level. Often some letter carriers will wish to undertake a second job since their work day ends at 3:30 p.m.

2. Duties: The daily activities and duties prescribed for the mail carrier are minutely set forth in writing. In the " Order Book, " the precise time schedule for picking up and delivering mail is set forth. The book indicates the streets on the carrier's route and the order in which they are to be walked, how these streets are broken down in bundling of the mail, which bundles are to be put in which relay boxes, and so forth. The book also contains the names of all patrons who have moved, to whom mail is to be forwarded, and other "special orders" which the carrier has to follow. The activities which comprise the mailman's job are further defined and, thus, restricted by the regulations of the Postal Manual and by directives and orders issued by the Postmaster General. Examples of the most important regulations are as follows:

(1) The carrier will deliver the mail in the indicated sequence.
(2) Carriers will not use private vehicles to facilitate their work unless they are authorized.
(3) Mail is to be placed only in the proper receptacle or given to the person.
(4) All mail is to be delivered on the day it is received by the carrier.
(5) Mail must never be delayed by the carrier.
(6) Carriers are not to walk across grass or any area except the standard sidewalks.

3. Supervision: The carrier's work is supervised in several ways: (1)

Day-to-day supervision by the immediate superior. This is frequently nominal. (2) The "annual count." Once a year the mailman's work is officially checked. He is observed in the actual sorting of the mail of his patrons. The annual count provides the opportunity for making modifications in the route. (3) Postal inspections. Postal inspectors oversee operations in the post office. On occasion, they may "seed" the mail, i.e., deposit marked letters in the collection boxes shortly before the stated collection time. This is done in order to determine whether the carrier is collecting the mail before the prescribed time---a forbidden practice.

Some of the official regulations are more important than others. Those concerning theft and withholding mail are the most important ones. Violations of these rules call for the strongest sanction---loss of job. Minor infractions of the rules, taking extended lunch periods, for instance, are punishable by suspension.

B. Unofficial Work Rules:

A set of unofficial norms and work rules exists among the letter carriers, many of which are in direct violation of the official regulations. These unofficial work rules almost parallel the official work regulations.

The post office department officials are aware of the existence of these unofficial practices, but find it difficult to detect specific instances of deviation. Hence, a great many rule violations occur which go undetected and unpunished.

One of the unofficial work rules concerns the carrier's daily route. The official job description is devised so that it will take the carrier exactly eight hours to sort and deliver the mail. The unofficial norm, however, permits him to reorganize his route so "that it can be walked in the most convenient and fastest time possible." This means that, even on the heaviest mail days, he is likely to finish the work before the allotted time. The situation is possible because the carrier walks his route in one way when he knows that he is being timed and in a different way when he is not being timed. Also, the carrier purposely embellishes his performance when he is being timed. Usually, however, he alters the order in which he is supposed to deliver the mail; he may walk criss-cross, skip certain loops in his walk, make frequent stops at the relay box, cut across lawns, or devise other short cuts. He may also violate the official rules by holding over some of the mail for the next day's delivery in order to "even out" the differences in the amount of mail on the various days. The carrier then may spend the leftover time in a number of ways: he may go home and return to the station at the officially prescribed time; he may go shopping; he may join fellow carriers at a nearby tavern; he may sit in his car and read; or he may extend his lunch period beyond the official 30 minutes, etc.

Along with the unofficial norms which govern the walking of the route in the most convenient fashion, there are norms which regulate one's return time to the station. The carrier is not to return early too frequently. If he does, the supervisor will interpret the situation as one which indicates that the route is too short.

The norms also prescribe that the regular summer substitute for a given route should always return somewhat later than the prescribed time. Admonitions such as "Don't kill the route" are given to the substitute to emphasize the unofficial role expectations. If the substitute should violate this important norm, the group will penalize him by withholding needed information or deliberately interfering with the rule breaker's activity. For instance, when a substitute who is known to deviate from the unofficial norms is assigned a new route and asks about details of the route, he will be told that he can find all he needs to know in the Order Book. His questions about particular hazards on the route---such as vicious dogs---will remain unanswered. At times, the deviant may find that labels on the mail bundles for his route have been deliberately mixed up.

The mounted carrier's work behavior is likewise governed by unofficial norms. For instance, he is to act as if the mail were "heavy" at all times, regardless of its actual volume. According to official practices, the mounted carrier is to have no more than four "heavy mail" days per week. The criterion for "heavy mail" is determined by the carriers themselves.

C. Official and Unofficial Hierarchies:

Among the letter carriers, there is a reward hierarchy based on pay. Closely correlated with the reward ranks is the authority hierarchy. The unofficial hierarchies supplement these two official hierarchies.

The unofficial hierarchy among the carriers is due to differences in status, work assignments, etc. The regular carrier enjoys a higher prestige than the substitute mailman. Similarly, the position of the mounted carrier is more esteemed than that of the foot carriers. The former receives a car allowance, overtime pay, and help from substitute carriers.

In conjunction with the prestige hierarchy, there is a privilege hierarchy. Substitute carriers, for instance, are denied certain privileges. The unofficial norms prescribe that no substitute carrier can leave the station before the sorting of all mail is completed; the substitute carriers are to help each other in sorting the mail. No substitute carrier can have his coffee in the "swing room" (employees' locker room). Also, according to an unofficial rule, these substitute carriers are not permitted to spend as much time in the locker room as the regular carriers. The unofficial power hierarchy of regular carriers is able to exert its influence over the substitute carriers because they are on the periphery of the informal work organization and are constantly shifted from one station to another.

Conclusions:

The existence of the unofficial norms is explained by the concept of "restriction of output" which operates in the service industry. The letter carriers' goal is to limit productivity as set by official standards so that the prescribed work can be accomplished in less than eight hours of work. Such behavior is motivated by the desire to refrain from working harder than is necessary to receive the same pay.

Implications for Counseling:

Post-office work is attractive to entry workers because of the visibility of the recruitment process (civil service examinations) and the visibility of the job duties.

The lack of job satisfaction among postal employees, however, frequently brings them to vocational counselors as clients. Those who have been in the system for any length of time have a difficult choice between the lack of job satisfaction and the security of the job. A second job or a major hobby are compromise solutions.

For some counselees, the status of the substitute worker is particularly annoying because of its uncertainty.

Few jobs now require as extensive walking as does the position of mail carrier. Counselees should be reminded that the mail carrier's career can be threatened by any lower extremity disability. The post office has, however, a very liberal disability retirement policy.

Scope: Occupational Field

Author's Abstract:

"Two general patterns of work behavior in the postal service are described. These are (1) the pattern of sorting and delivering mail and (2) the various hierarchical relationships among letter carriers. Actual behavior is determined by official rules and regulations supplemented and modified by unofficial norms and standards. Parallels are drawn between these patterns in the postal service and those found in other settings. The persistence of these patterns is explained in terms of the motivation of postal workers."

Methodology:

This study was based on the author's extensive research into the postal service. Data were obtained by participant observation, interviews with postal employees, discreet observation of letter carriers at work, and the examination of various written materials dealing with the Post Office Department and its workers.

Cautions:

The generalizations in this article are based on the author's interpretation of the findings.

Theoretical Orientation:

"...in a group or in society there is a division of labor, that certain individuals perform certain activities which are different from those activities which others perform. This notion.../indicates/ that individuals have certain relationships to each other which vary according to where the individuals are located in the group." One's position or status in the structure establishes a set of explicit and implicit role expectations appropriate to the status.

SALESMEN ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 250-289

Silverman, Leslie J. "The Social Role of the Salesman." Unpublished Master's thesis, New School for Social Research, 1956.*

Description:

The relation between an occupation and individual character was the subject in this study of the salesman.

The sales specialist's responsibility consists of increasing or maintaining a desired volume of sales. It is income which attracts him to the position in the first place and the rewards are given him for successful performance. The successful salesman makes a fairly high income which gives him power, prestige, and material goods--anything money can buy. To achieve high income status, he must surmount two barriers, lack of demand and competition.

From the reading of the literature, the author formed the general impression that "sales managers felt [that] their salesmen are not performing their duties as desired and that they do not honor obligations to their employers." Salesmen are believed to be entrepreneurs and are expected to identify with management's interests. This apparently is not the case in many instances; some salesmen have been known to criticize the product and the company in the presence of the customer.

To improve the performance of the salesmen, various techniques have been suggested. Increasing training programs is one of the methods aimed at better sales performance. Another method calls for the use of psychological instruments which would segregate "a particular type of character structure which is characterized by the desire for wealth, power and mobility..." and a desire to manipulate others. Samuel Stevens, a college president and industrial psychologist, tends to view the salesman as a very insecure, non-introspective person who feels himself alienated from others and who compensates for his feelings of insecurity by striving to manipulate others. (Samuel N. Stevens: "Motivating Salesmen," in Proceedings of the 8th Annual Conference of Sales Managers, Ohio State University Publications, Columbus, Ohio, 1951). The occupation, according to him, is "a way of canalizing the psychological needs and tensions arising from this insecurity." Even though the data upon which Stevens based his contentions did not warrant the assumption, he was able to sell his approach for the selection of salesmen to business.

The salesman's job is a difficult one. Dependence upon the customer and the pressure of meeting quotas probably require some sort of sustaining "supports." Approval and recognition from sales supervisors are assumed to be the external "supports"; "belief in selling as a way of life, and desire to excel" are perhaps the internal "supports" which then enable the salesman to cope with his difficulties.

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

Selection of salesmen may be accomplished by two methods: (1) natural selection or (2) psychological tests. In the first instance, an ad placed in the newspaper attracts persons with certain characteristics. The initial interview and the first few unsuccessful sales calls discourage many of the applicants. This type of natural selection occurs, for example, in the hiring of encyclopedia salesmen. No special abilities are required for employment other than perseverance. The second method, scientific selection, postulates "a certain group of psychological traits or abilities which, in combination, discriminate between good and poor hiring risks." The desirable individual portrayed by these tests should be an enthusiastic extrovert, having a "lively interest in people and events."

The author believes that one of the most important characteristics of the successful salesman is a "feeling of personal self-potency." This "is an attitude toward the self, the content referring to the feeling that the self has the ability to manipulate others for its own ends." The other important characteristic is the desire for and accumulation of financial success. Both of these characteristics of the salesman are postulated by the author as necessary for the salesman to fulfill the responsibility of his position.

The salesman uses a variety of techniques to sell the product. He is not bound by any consideration of the customer. Customers are important to him as individuals only to the extent to which knowledge about a particular customer can be used in his selection of appropriate techniques in the sales approach. The salesman learns to catalogue the various characteristics of the customers and selects the selling method according to their peculiarities. The successful salesman must overcome two frequent obstacles posed by the consumer: lack of desire for the product, and negative feelings about the salesman.

In his sales approach, the salesman may use either "low pressure" or "high pressure" techniques. The low pressure selling method as opposed to the high pressure one utilizes the "customer-problem" approach. The salesman asks himself: "What is the customer's need or want? ...How does my product fit that need or want? ...How can I best demonstrate the relationship between the two?" The salesman's intention then is "to appeal to the customer's own motives by showing him how the product is instrumental for achieving his purposes." With the salesman's use of the high pressure technique, the customer is being "sold" from the moment he indicates interest. Social pressure, in the form of conspicuous consumption, is used. The purchase price is minimized as a detail. The salesman will use every persuasive means to get the customer's name on the sales contract.

The decision to use either high or low pressure sales techniques depends upon several factors in the sales situation. These are: "whether or not the product is in a competitive market; the salesman's estimation of the customer's need for the product; the importance of the particular customer to the salesman's success; and, whether the salesman depends upon the particular customers for repeated consumption or purchases."

"It is hypothesized that there is a direct relation between pressure techniques and the competitive nature of the market, and an inverse relationship between pressure techniques and consumer need, consumer prestige, and consumption repetition."

High pressure technique is used "in markets composed of customers with low need for the product, any one of whom is not essential to the salesman's success,.../where/ the product is purchased only once." Low pressure technique is used in a non-competitive market situation with high consumer need, where prestige and consumption repetition is desired.

Implications for Counseling:

There is a tendency to place sales work in a n.e.c. (not elsewhere classified) catchall category in vocational counseling because it has few, if any, entry requirements. When, after occupational exploration, the counselee seems unable to enter any of the occupations having more specific requirements, he may view sales as a solution.

Although almost any individual can enter the sales field, the experienced salesman has a set of skills, a body of knowledge, and a repertoire of behavior which differentiates him from the entry sales worker. His repertoire of behavior is somewhat similar to that of the counselor in that the chief technique of each is the use of the self as a psycho-social instrument.

In terms of how the self is used as a psycho-social instrument, more findings in research are available pertaining to counseling than to salesmanship. In counseling, the goals of the counselor and the counselee are supposed to be the same: the solution of the counselee's problems. This is obviously not always true in practice. In selling, the goals of the salesman and consumer are frequently not the same. The salesman wants to make money; the consumer wants a satisfactory product at the lowest price. Economic theory postulates a one best product for which one may ascertain the lowest price offered. Since only one out of 10, or one out of 100 salesmen competing with one another will be offering the best product at the lowest price, the other 9 or 99 are in the position of trying to convince the customer to pay more or take an inferior product. This is an over-simplification of the problem, but should indicate that the goals of salesman and consumer may not be identical.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

A review of some of the literature dealing with salesmen provided the information upon which this thesis was based.

Cautions:

Generalizations from this thesis should be made with utmost caution since they reflect, for the most part, the author's own point of view and are derived from secondary sources.

Theoretical Orientation:

Two points of view regarding the relationship of personalities and occupations furnished the theoretical frame of reference of this study. According to one theory, "certain occupational positions may attract individuals of one (personality) type and repel or fail to attract those of other types..." (Alex Inkeles and Daniel J. Levinson, "National Character: The Study of Model Personality and Sociocultural Systems," in Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1954, Vol. II, p. 1006.) Robert K. Merton, on the other hand, suggests that "men's personal aspirations, interests and sentiments are largely organized and stamped with the mark of their occupational outlook." (Social Theory and Social Structure. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949, p. 119.)

SALESMAN, INSURANCE **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 250.258

Jonassohn, Kurt. "The Life Insurance Agent: An Occupational Study." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1955.*

Description:

This study explored the occupational world of the life insurance agent in the Greater Montreal area. The presentation of the findings has been organized into two parts: (1) the institutional mechanisms--i.e., description of the recruitment, training, and socialization processes, and (2) description of the occupational world and ideology of the life insurance agent.

I. Institutional Mechanisms

1. Recruitment: Because there are no entrance requirements, persons of diversified background find opportunities for employment in this occupation. There appears to be a 'career gap' for persons in this occupation--i.e., persons are not likely to choose this occupation at the onset of their careers; rather they enter this field after they have tried some other occupation. The type of recruits attracted to this occupation may be roughly divided into three categories: (a) persons who feel that they have been in dead-end occupations and have either reached or soon will reach their ceiling; (b) persons who are unable to compete successfully in the occupations for which they were trained; and (c) persons who find themselves in the job market due to factors beyond their control. Examples of the latter category are veterans who could not or did not want to return to their pre-war jobs, immigrants, and persons whose jobs were affected by economic dislocation.

Due to the rapid expansion of the insurance business, the demand for recruits is great. The prestige and status of the position relative to other occupations is low, however. Recruitment is frequently accomplished through personal contacts, although newspaper advertisements are also used on occasion. There is very little consensus among managers and supervisors of life insurance companies as to the criteria for selection of successful applicants. Aptitude test scores have little validity. Each supervisor or manager seems to have his own idea as to what type of person will make a good life insurance agent. While most companies and managers prefer the older and married man since he is to deal with the public as a financial adviser, there are many successful exceptions to the rule. The large turnover within the first three years points to the fact that "devices of high predictive value have not been developed yet" in the recruitment selection process.

2. Training: Training of the recruits extends over a considerable length of time and concentrates heavily on the development of specific social skills. The formal program consists of three levels: elementary, intermediate, and advanced. Each of these phases lasts approximately six months. During these phases, the recruit completes certain assignments supplied by the company, then takes written examinations. Simultaneously, the recruit begins selling and has several

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

weekly training sessions with his immediate supervisor. The agent continuously receives a large amount of printed materials from the company advising him on problems, sales techniques, and ideas and developments in the field. Those who wish to study further can obtain university training and thereby increase their status in the company considerably.

The training assignments stress three important elements involved in the selling technique: definition of the need, prospecting, and interviewing. Mastery of the first element results in defining the role of the insurance agent in the community. Prospecting is recognized as the most difficult aspect of the activities. Since the agent is likely to encounter many refusals and much lack of interest in making his initial contact with the public, the prevailing practice is to have a supervisor or an experienced salesman accompany him on the first round of calls to provide moral support, at least. Obtaining an interview with a prospective client is thought of as a substantial achievement.

The techniques of selling can be learned easily. To facilitate selling, the company supplies all sorts of "package presentations" which fit all types of insurance needs. In the first year of training, the recruit is discouraged from using any other selling methods except the techniques taught in the training program.

The objectives of the training program are legitimized and reinforced by the occupational ideology. Accordingly, it is the agent's duty--his mission--to see that everyone in the community is protected by life insurance. The agent must believe that he has a good product to sell--one that everybody needs--and that "his work is for the interest of society and is essential to every one of his clients." According to the occupational ideology, should sudden death strike a family which the agent had contacted unsuccessfully at an earlier time, the agent is at fault, for not having worked hard and conscientiously enough.

Belief in one's mission is of importance, especially during the training period when initial difficulties and lack of recognition and appreciation from the public are the recruit's only results.

3. Occupational socialization: The employment contract with the company defines one's formal relationships and rewards. During the training period, the desirability of rewards is emphasized. The rewards are usually associated with the achievement of certain sales quotas and may range from mentioning one's name on the company's bulletin board to a free vacation trip. The achievement of the minimal quotas is usually automatic. Should difficulties arise and the recruit be unable to achieve these minimal goals, he can always discuss his doubts about his success with his supervisor.

4. Informal mechanisms: In time the recruit acquires the occupational terminology and learns to accept the ways and values of the group. Usually, he becomes a member of a clique and then depends less and less on the formal guidance of his supervisor. The recruit will learn that the successful agents not only sell insurance but write books and articles, address meetings, and belong to certain prestige cliques, such as the "Million Dollar Round Table."

With the undertaking of the above activities, insurance agents' socialization is almost complete; i.e., he is continuously rewarded and reinforced for his activities. It is believed that doubts and reservations concerning one's success prevent the agent from selling; "it is said, only the agent who has complete 'faith' can become a successful agent." Reinforcements are given at regular intervals in the form of awards, prizes, meetings, and club memberships. Promotion to supervisory or managerial level indicates that the agent has become a socializing agent for others.

5. Career stages and mobility patterns: The data of the study indicate that life insurance agents are making a good income. Half of the respondents reported an average annual income of about $8,000. Perhaps it is the income that attracts persons and compels them to remain in the field.

The agents tend to come from non-manual occupational backgrounds and have attended high school. Those who attended college have better chances of attaining promotion to managerial levels than those without college education. Interestingly, a large number of college drop-outs are found among the recruits.

Inter-occupational mobility has been predominantly from the clerical and sales occupations. It appears that mobility motivations are based upon actual and potential income rather than on prestige aspirations.

The career development pattern of life insurance agents is characterized by an extended trial stage due to the fact that an enforced career gap exists between the ages when schooling is completed and when companies prefer to employ the agents. The stable career period is marked by expanding sales and income rather than by striving for promotion. The retirement stage is characterized by decreasing activity rather than complete withdrawal from the occupation. Income potentials even in this stage are good because the agent continues to draw commissions on renewals for nine years after the original sale was made. If he has built up a clientele during the active years, these persons will continue to come to him with their insurance needs. In addition, the agent may be receiving payments from annuities or from policies which he bought for himself when he first entered the occupation.

6. Trends and developments: Recent developments indicate that the occupational organization of life insurance agents wishes stricter licensing standards and formal training facilities. The life insurance agents' association attempts to raise the low status of the occupation. It has coined a new name for the agent--the underwriter--to reduce the identification with the unfavorable status of the salesman. It also has adopted a code of ethics. Since membership in this organization is voluntary, the acceptance of professional standards and behavior is rather slow.

Conflicting developments within the occupation may change the occupational role of the agent. Presently, companies are experimenting with selling methods which exclude the agent. For example, life insurance can be bought at airports and railroad stations for a single trip from vending machines. The growth of group life insurance and the manner by which it is handled organizationally may also lead to the displacement of the insurance salesman. In time, he may become an inside staff member of the bureaucracy--one who no longer has the primary function of selling.

II. Occupational World and Ideology of the Underwriter

1. The Role of Time: Time is an important matter in the selling of life insurance. The time the agent spends in his office gives him little financial reward. The time of day and the length of time, he spends in selling, however, is dependent upon the time preference of prospective clientele. He must know the time patterns of urban living, what kind of people can be seen during what part of the day, or week, and in what place. Since contacts are frequently made during hours of social activities (i.e., while participating in community and organizational activities), the agent cannot precisely separate his occupational activities from his private activities. Timing is also an important aspect in interviewing. The approach must be made at the "right time," and the interview must be terminated "in time."

The agent conceives of himself "as working in the best interest of his clients but he receives his pay and symbols of success only when he works in the interests of the company." He has the illusion of working in freedom and independence but the internalized values of the occupation "drive(s) him harder than any visible source of authority would ever do."

2. Self Concept: In response to the undesirable public image of the agent, the life insurance underwriters have developed a strong conception of the self. This gives internal consistency to their action and legitimizes their occupational role. Their self-conceptions revolve around these major themes: they choose this work voluntarily and find it satisfactory; education and competence are essential; hard work is a basic requirement; rewards are in proportion to one's effort and ability; the work constitutes an important public service; and their efforts are appreciated only in crisis situations.

3. The Image of the Value System of Society: The agent's image of the world and its value system is determined by his training and occupational role. The agent strongly subscribes to the tradition of self-reliance and believes that it is one's responsibility to provide for all contingencies. The family man can show his love toward his family by providing adequately for their needs even after his death. One's success in the business world is measured by his material rewards.

4. The Image of the Company: It appears that the agents hold two conflicting views of the company they represent. One image is for public relations purposes stressing the positive attributes of the company; e.g., it is the oldest, the biggest firm, it charges the lowest premiums, etc. Within their own colleague group, however, the company becomes a target for hostility. The agents feel that they provide the business which keeps the company alive and their interests and aspirations should be recognized. The company, on the other hand feels that the agents could bring in more business if they would accept and use their advice and new selling methods.

5. The Image of the Client and the Community: The agent feels that everyone should have life insurance. It is the agent's task to explain to each person the advantage of having insurance and persuade him to act accordingly. The requirements of good health and money are used as selling points rather than limitations. One should buy the insurance while young and healthy.

The agent recognizes that people with various ethnic backgrounds adhere to different sets of values. For the most part, however, the agent's unfamiliarity with the language of a specific ethnic group rather than their peculiar set of values is the factor which prevents him from selling to these persons. Insurance companies make an effort to recruit agents from the various ethnic groups to cope with these situations.

Most agents will carve out a preferred group of clients for themselves. These may be selected because of territorial proximity, previous acquaintances, or personal preference. Thus, an agent may be very successful in the sports world, or with Jewish businessmen, etc.

The agent regards one's personal reputation and participation in community activities as essential. Comments like the following illustrate the point:

> The big thing is always to keep one's name in front of the community.
>
> ....
>
> In a lot of activities, like my social activities, it helps in the business because it keeps my name in front of the community.

By their community activities, the agents feel that they can change the stereotype held by the public. Some agents find that clients in the higher income groups appreciate their services in financial matters more than clients in the lower income groups.

The agent's image of human nature legitimizes much of his activity. He feels that most people would not be prepared for unforeseen consequences unless he had exerted some pressure. He believes that clients are grateful for this pressure which was applied at a time when they didn't have the foresight to take appropriate action.

The agent's continued studying and reading is directed toward the better understanding of human nature. Most of the agents agree that they don't know what happens in the selling situation. Their constant striving and questioning are attempts to remove the unpredictability of the situation.

Implications for Counseling:

The uncertainty of life insurance selling brings many clients for vocational counseling. The initial two years in this occupation is a period of great insecurity and resulting anxiety. The beginning salesman is unable to gain an objective view of himself from talking with his supervisor and coworkers because they tend to "accentuate the positive" as part of the mythology of life insurance selling. The vocational counselor may be of distinct value here because of his more objective view which the beginning salesman might utilize in attempting to evaluate his performance. The counselor's use of psychological tests is usually of little help; presenting the salesman with the opportunity to fully express his doubts, fears, and anxieties about his work role is the most effective technique.

The type of individual likely to seek vocational counseling is the same as that described in the "Recruitment" section of this report. The nature of the salesmanship role is such that an occasional client will conclude the counseling session by asking the counselor if he is interested in buying life insurance.

The vocational counselor may find it extremely difficult to emphathize with the role of the life insurance salesman because it is the exact antithesis of the counseling role. The life insurance salesman's work and, frequently, his social role are centered around the idea of selling people "something which is good for them" in spite of themselves. The vocational counselor's role, on the other hand, is to help people in making decisions for themselves--minimizing as much as possible his own influence and values.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Data was gathered on the English speaking life insurance agents in Greater Montreal as follows: (1) selected agents from one company were intensively interviewed for six months; (2) a questionnaire was mailed to members of the occupational organization; (3) respondents who identified themselves on the returned questionnaires were interviewed; (4) a limited amount of observation and participant observation was conducted during interviewing and attending the training sessions in branch offices; and (5) exploratory interviews were held and observations were made of clients, owners of life insurance, ex-agents and client prospects.

Cautions:

The sample on which these generalizations are based was drawn from only one community. The analysis does not take into consideration the possible variations that might occur among different settings.

Theoretical Orientation:

The occupational world of the life insurance agent was studied with the intention of illustrating how the individual member's degree of involvement "determines the horizons of this world and how it molds both roles and personalities."

SALESMAN, INSURANCE **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 250.258

Schwartz, Albert M. "A Role Analysis of the Insurance Agent in the Community." Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1955.*

Description:

The present study investigated differences in role expectations expressed by persons connected with life insurance sales. Specifically, the research sought to explore opinions on questions such as: Is the role a job or a profession? To what extent is social participation in community life an important aspect of the role? The operational problems of recruitment and training were also described.

The life insurance organization is a combination sales and service organization. It sells an intangible product in a highly competitive market, a situation which requires the use of differential sales techniques and a higher degree of skills than is customarily employed in the sale of tangible goods under competitive marketing conditions.

"Good will" is the important attitude among clients and customers. "Confidence" characterizes the customer-agent relationship. The agent not only sells but also continuously services the needs of the policyholder. The agent is the key element in the life insurance organization, and without his successful role performance the organization cannot function adequately.

The Agent's Status:

The status of the agent as well as the quality of insurance personnel has changed for the better in the past twenty-five years. The status change may be attributed to the fact that the life insurance business "has achieved somewhat greater value in the hierarchy of social and economic values in American society." The occupation may be considered a profession when the agent is able to assume certain characteristics which differentiate professions from jobs. For example, "no conflict of interest or perspective" between the agent and the client is a mark of the "professional."

Differential Role Expectations:

(1) The Agent's View: The agents regard their occupation as an end in itself, a fixed occupation. They feel that college background is essential for promotion. They believe management should refrain from emphasizing promotional opportunities because it can have a bad psychological effect upon those who remain at the fixed occupational level. The sales meetings, in the opinion of the agents, should offer instructions on selling techniques and should emphasize the constructive aspects of the work for the agents and the community. The ideal type of beginning agent is conceived of as a man who has at least a high school education, is in his late twenties, married, with several children, buying

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

his home, and integrated into the community. He should be honest and interested in his fellow men. He should be self-motivated, industrious, and willing to make "sacrifices" of personal time and family during the probationary years.

Agents' evaluations of themselves conform with expectations held by various reference groups (i.e., peers, management, and policyholders). The data further suggests that the reference groups exert influence upon the agent and cause him to conform to group expectations.

(2) The Management's View: Management conceives of the agent's role as a "job" which consists of the work roles and satisfactory service to policyholders and potential clients.

(3) Policyholders' View: The policyholder generally views the agent's role as a "profession," i.e., the policyholder may seek specialized ethical advice and service.

Interestingly, the manifest function of the life insurance agent from the viewpoint of the policyholder depends, in part, on the socio-economic status of the parties. In the upper socio-economic levels of the community, the agent is regarded as a professional advisor and counselor-- one who can diagnose and prescribe the course of action, and one who is characterized by an "ethical" behavior. The successful agent who draws his clientele from the upper socio-economic levels is likely to participate in the same community organization activities in which his policyholders participate. The occupational role for this type of salesman tends to resemble a profession more than a job.

In the middle socio-economic classes of the community, the agent is expected to combine the professional type of behavior with personal relationships with clients. Since the insurance agent himself frequently comes from this level, the successful agent lives, works, and identifies with the people who comprise his clientele. The religious affiliation and participation of the agent tend to parallel that of his clients; they may be viewed as an expression of a cultural trait, an occupational trait, or as related to both. "Social solidarity and a feeling of permanency are important to successful role performance, and social participation constitutes one means through which this is expressed." The role of the life insurance agent at this level may assume semi-professional status.

The agent having clients on the lower socio-economic levels is likely to be socially distant from them. Usually he is unable to live, work and to become identified with the clientele at this level. "Because of the type of service he renders, he and his policyholders tend to regard his work as a 'job,' and he therefore occupies a lower status in the community in their eyes." The structure and nature of the work at this level robs the occupation of any element of professionalization. The agent establishes a rapport with friendliness but without familiarity; he is patient without understanding. For the agent with clientele on this level, community participation has little or no meaning for work relations.

Ideal Types:

The Successful Agent: It appears that the criterion for the "successful" agent as opposed to the "unsuccessful" agent may not be based altogether on performance; it may be influenced, in part, by the social milieu in which he is placed. The "successful" agent is middle-aged, married, with two children. He has over $20,000 in life insurance and other investments. He owns his home. He tends to identify with religious groups more than with civic activities. If his occupational role tends toward the professional type, his community activities will take the form of participation in social service organizations. He is at least a high school graduate, probably with some college. The successful agent has a keen interest in people and a sound personal philosophy. He has a well-defined perception of his role. He enjoys status among his policyholders and he is respected by management and by his peers. His behavior invites confidence. In his relationships with clients, he is dependable, objective, and sincere. For this type of agent, the occupation is a profession because it allows him to maintain the attitudes and the kind of behavior which distinguish a profession from a job.

The Unsuccessful Agent: This type of individual appears to deviate from the "norm" of the successful agent in two respects. 'First...he may be evaluated by a set of role expectations that are not applicable to him nor to the social level on which he operates; and second...his maladjustment might be regarded as a possible misuse of good manpower placed in the wrong situation."

The unsuccessful agent is likely to be a young, married man with a child, who partially owns or rents his home. He also has about $20,000 in life insurance but no other investments. He is a high school graduate with some college experience. This type of man is less likely to participate in either religious or community activities.

The unsuccessful agent lacks a well-defined concept of his role. Management tends to emphasize his negative qualities, although his peers are eager to assist him in solving his problems. Policyholders apparently sense his disturbance and tend to withdraw from him. This type of agent fails to assume a professional manner and does not achieve status with his clients. For him the work becomes "a job." He is unsure of himself, and his conduct does not inspire confidence.

Criteria for Selecting Agents:

The current hiring and assignment system in life insurance companies indicates that the procedures being used are too haphazard and result in a costly labor turnover. The problems of hiring can be summarized as follows: "There is need for a well-'defined' job, a well-'defined' profession for which men can be qualified as agents to be matched with a well-'defined' work situation in terms of a socio-economic class of potential and current policyholders." The author is of the opinion that success in the role performance of the life insurance agent is related to the patterns of community participation.

Implications for Counseling:

If the trends suggested in this study are correct, counselees considering careers in life insurance sales should think seriously of the social class level of the customers to whom they wish to sell insurance. More than with many other types of sales, successful selling of life insurance would appear to be related to the non-occupational status of the salesman in the community, at least in smaller communities. A college education, for example, while not directly required in performing the duties of the job, may be useful if not mandatory, in assisting the salesman to make business contacts in the upper middle and upper classes. Conversely (and it is not certain that this is true), the salesman with less education may be more comfortable and more effective than the college-trained salesman in selling insurance to working class customers.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

This study of life insurance agents took place in the Piedmont agricultural region of North Carolina in the summer of 1953. There were four methods of data collection: sixteen agents were given (1) a questionnaire regarding self-perception in agent-role skills and perception of social distance from peers, and (2) a personal interview concerning social participation in the community; (3) an interview was held with four management persons regarding the sixteen agents; and (4) an interview was arranged with ninety policyholders concerning their opinions of the agents' competency and their concept of what the "ideal" agent should be.

Cautions:

Findings of this study are applicable only to the sample community selected for study, and to conditions that existed at the time of study. Generalizations with respect to occupational patterns should be made with utmost caution.

Theoretical Orientation:

Point of departure for the study of this occupational role was the concept of "occupational profile." The following elements make up the content of the "profile": status, perception of occupational role, social interaction patterns, reference groups, expectations, and community opinions and attitudes. The evaluation of "success" is based on the notion that the highly skilled, "successful" agent has established a pattern of behavior in which he senses no incongruities between the assumption of the professional role of advisor and the "white-collar" role of non-manual "services."

ABSTRACT

Taylor, Miller Lee. "The Life Insurance Man: A Sociological Analysis of the Occupation." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1958.*

Description:

This study of the life insurance occupation brought to light several areas of disharmony and ideological conflict in the occupational culture.

Ideological Conflict: The first, and perhaps the most widespread, conflict is in the ideology of the occupation as the result of the differences between the ruggedly individualistic and the security-minded salesmen. The occupation was first established in the era of rugged individualism, and the ideology of this era became well entrenched in the thinking of the early life insurance men. Rugged individualism became a tradition and still exists as a dominating ideology among some contemporary life insurance agents. In the present-day work situation, however, another type of ideology developed-- security mindedness-- which appears to be the opposite of rugged individualism.

In some instances, the rugged individualists view the occupation as a sales job or as the means to their personal advancement; in other instances, they view it as a missionary service to the public. While the rugged individualists may be career-oriented, their ideological approach to the work contributes very little to the integrated growth of the occupation. "What they want is an opportunity to make their future what their personal energies and abilities will allow."

The security-minded life insurance men, on the other hand, want a stable work situation, a reasonably certain future, fringe benefits, a training program, and financial assistance.

The situation becomes more complicated when such ideological differences are allowed to influence motivation toward work and modes of remuneration. The rugged individualists claim that the occupation was established by men like themselves, who were willing to work hard, were courageous, and willing to take a chance if they had the opportunity to make a good income. Commissions based on sales appeared to these men to be the appropriate reward.

Recruiting, Training, and Remuneration: The basic differences in ideology are reflected throughout the occupational organization. The current recruitment processes favor the men who have a career-professional interest, and try to eliminate the itinerants from the occupation. The present training program, unlike that of professions such as medicine, law, or the ministry admits the recruit immediately into its ranks. In medicine, law, or the ministry, the recruits are thoroughly screened and well trained before they begin to serve the public or become members of the profession. Those who drop out during the long training period do not give a bad reputation to the profession. The life insurance salesman, however--whatever background or experience he may or may not have--can start selling insurance as soon as he joins a company. He may lack the requisite personality or ethical qualifications, but no effort is made to discriminate among aspirants to this occupation. Also, he has no way of knowing beforehand whether he really wants to be in this occupation.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

The C.L.U. (Certified Life Insurance Underwriter) program aims to advance the occupation as a profession. The increasing emphasis toward professionalism appears to be of dubious value with respect to the function of the occupation for the benefit of society. The questionable value of the C.L.U. program is pointed up by the fact "that most life insurance men can fulfill their occupational role adequately without advanced training." Those who acquire the C.L.U. training eventually become specialists of a certain kind and, as such, operate with a much more restricted and selected clientele than those without such training--for example, the estate planners who work in conjunction with lawyers.

The important question raised at this point is: "How far can an occupation develop and require a training program in excess of what is objectively needed to fulfill its function for society?" The conflict of interests arises when "the internal goal of the occupation is to promote professionalization, in this case via training, while the external demands on the occupation by society are to provide a simple means of protection for a large body of the population."

The prevailing pattern of remuneration and rewards is based "on a similar precarious balance between the occupational goals and the social service of the occupation." Although the earnings in this occupation are high, the question is whether the high economic rewards result from service to a large number of people, or from the service to those few who can afford the purchase of large insurance policies.

As life insurance men become better trained and more established in their careers, they tend to serve fewer and fewer clients. The most highly trained men tend to serve a select and elite clientele. Again, "it becomes a question of whether advanced training of life insurance men is a function or a dysfunction to the occupation in terms of its service to the public."

Organizational Setting: The organizational setting, the life insurance men's relationship to the home office and administrators are complex and, at times, problematic. The field administrators and also the home office men are concerned primarily with sales production, tending to view their position as superior to that of the agent in terms of the organizational power structure. They maintain a certain social distance from the agents and are still reluctant to view them as integral members of the organization. The life insurance agents, on the other hand, consider themselves professionals, and, in fact, are treated as such by some clients. To them, the role of life insurance salesman confers status. In contrast, they regard the position of the home office man as obscure. These two groups compete for status and prestige in their separate ways.

The Work Setting: In the actual work situation, the insurance men spend time in the office as well as in the field. The rugged-individualistic agent thinks of the office work as a necessary evil, a waste of time. The career-professional, in contrast, is anxious to spend as much time there as possible. "He thinks of himself as one who works with his clients as a consultant, as one who sits behind a big desk in a lavish office."

In the reality of the work situation, the average life insurance man finds his role frustrating. The new ideology teaches him to give his clients professional counsel and to expect them to regard him as a professional. In the field, however, he finds that the public gives him less prestige than he has been taught to expect. Moreover, the public is not especially interested in his product, nor do they like his sales approach.

The rugged individualists are of the opinion that "the men who have the stamina and courage to be real life insurance men will not be depressed" by the negative responses of the public. The career-professionals, on the other hand, view the situation as one to be studied and remedied by drawing up work schedules and suggesting improved sales techniques. Hopefully, such schedules, if adhered to, should bring success to the salesmen.

The insecurity of the life insurance man is increased by the fact that even though he may succeed in selling insurance to the client, the contract may be rejected by the home office. He does his work alone; in case of problems, he feels he gets little cooperation from colleagues.

The already tenuous work situation is further complicated by the socio-economic characteristics of the prospective clientele. Lower class clients tend to regard the agent with respect. To these people, he is a specialist and an authority. Some agents who are a little ambitious soon discover that life insurance men of higher prestige and income sell only life insurance instead of the debit and combination type of work that some agents perform. Consequently, these agents will look for a change.*

Most agents work with middle-class clients. These people show him little respect and do not accord him professional status, although the agent may be considered a professional in the office.

The upper stratum of society is served by an elite "class" of life insurance men who advise their clients on estate problems. Frequently these are the men with the C.L.U. training.

The current career patterns among life insurance men reflect the dominant structural cleavage of the work organization. Two distinct types of careers are found: production and administration. Most agents do not want to get involved with administration. They are content to sell insurance throughout their working career.

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*The debit and combination type of work involves collection of insurance premiums as well as selling.

Implications for Counseling:

For counselees considering life insurance sales as a career, a discussion of the two types of salesmen described in this study may be helpful in analyzing the requirements and rewards of the occupation.

The counselor will encounter individuals who are entry workers in the occupation and who are not succeeding. It is likely that the security-minded salesmen are more apt to seek counseling than are the rugged individualist type.

Lack of occupational adjustment may occur in trying to reconcile the two roles of salesman and professional. It is desirable to discuss this problem with counselees considering the occupation. It seems likely that emphasis on the salesman role will be more productive in the entry stage of the occupation. It may be possible to shift in the direction of the professional role after a suitable clientele has been developed. It should be made clear however, that there is an inherent discrepancy between the two roles.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

The data for this study were derived from two sources: a survey of the literature and personal interviews. The literature survey included trade journals, company bulletins and occupational organization materials. Personal interviews were held with 64 life insurance men. "Respondents were selected by using a quota sample so that they would represent companies domiciled in all regions of the country, from the oldest to the newest companies and from conservative and liberal companies. Respondents ranged from practitioners with long careers in life insurance to part-time men."

Cautions:

Although this is a very good overview of the life insurance occupation, the small sample size still warrants caution in interpretation of the findings.

Theoretical Orientation:

From a sociological point of view, this study of the life insurance occupation implies a central concern with human relations. "The sociologist is interested in both the concrete and the abstract aspects of the occupational culture, in the forms of interaction and association...in organization, in functions, in ideologies...."

SALESMAN, INSURANCE **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 250.258

Taylor, M. Lee, and Pellegrin, Roland J. "Professionalization: Its Functions and Dysfunctions for the Life Insurance Occupation," Social Forces, Vol. XXXVIII, No. 2 (December, 1959), pp. 110-114.

Description:

The occupation of life insurance selling had its beginnings during the nineteenth century. After the turn of the century, life insurance agents gradually acquired a distinctive occupational identity. Today, agents and home office men collectively constitute the occupational practitioners.

With the emergence of an occupational identity, professional organizations developed whose manifest purpose was to improve service to policy holders. A latent purpose was the expansion of business and the elevation of occupational status.

The leading supporter of professionalism in the occupation is the American College of Life Underwriters (A.C.L.U.), founded in 1927. The purpose of the founders of this organization was to elevate the level of the occupation above mere salesmanship. They conceived of the occupation as "a profession in which underwriters expertly trained in financial and security matters and pledged to high ethical idealism, would counsel and guide their clients."

The A.C.L.U. developed a comprehensive study program which was designed to elevate the occupation to a professional status. The course of study includes subjects such as business law, banking, corporation finance, tax law, and investment policy. Completion of the course results in a Chartered Life Underwriter designation (C.L.U.).

As a consequence of A.C.L.U. activities, a sharp cleavage has developed in the field between the professionals and the non-professionals. As life insurance men become professionally oriented, they prefer to sell life insurance to a professional clientele. This professionalized view is inconsistent with the avowed occupational goal of serving an ever greater number of people.

The professional image centers on an interest in security and fringe benefits, in contrast to the old image of the salesman as a rugged individualist. The rugged individualist does not want a guaranteed average salary, but, instead, freedom to make his own fortune.

This study revealed that the dominant emphasis in the occupation is currently on professionalization in spite of the avowed goal of service to an ever greater number of people.

Implications for Counseling:

There are few fields in which there is so much trial and error in the recruitment and selection of personnel as in the occupation of selling life insurance. The large number of salesmen who leave the field after unsuccessful performances during the first year or two suggests not only the inadequacy of our predictive instruments but also our lack of knowledge about the real requirements of the occupation.

The full-time professional school serves as a means of selective recruitment of individuals as well as one by which those individuals who have not become reasonably well indoctrinated into the norms of the profession in the course of their professional school training may be weeded out.

It is very difficult to develop ethical standards in a "profession" when adherence to a standard of ethics is achieved at the price of financial rewards. Marginal members of the profession are always tempted to violate this ethic so that a rather rigid policing by the profession would be necessary to enforce it.

It is possible that the life insurance salesman who is marginal in terms of his indoctrination into the ethics of the occupation, is adept at verbalizing (and sincerely believing in) his high ethical standards, but is actually operating to maximize his financial gains. How the counselor may successfully evaluate such complicated qualities (if he wants to do so) is difficult to imagine.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

The data used in the study were obtained from two sources: (1) literature concerning the life insurance industry in general (e.g., historical, statistical, ideological, professional, propagandistic, etc.), and (2) confidential depth interviews with 64 life insurance men in the fall of 1957 in a prominent southern city. A wide range of companies, positions, and occupational types was represented.

Cautions:

Generalization on the basis of this study should be made with caution since the data were drawn from only one city, and no systematic, representative sampling procedure was employed.

Theoretical Orientation:

Like those in many other fields, life insurance men have sought to elevate their occupation to a professional status. This emphasis on professionalization has been a deterrent to the attainment of other occupational goals such as service to a greater number of people.

SALESMAN,
REAL ESTATE

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. CODE: 250.358

Angreist, Shirley S. Bloomst,"Real Estate Salesmen: The Study of Sales Occupation." Unpublished M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1955.*

Description:

This study explored the occupational world of real estate salesmen in the city of Montreal in the late 1950's.

(1)Recruitment, Training and Socialization: The real estate salesmen's job consists of "a kind of purposeful social interaction." This is the basis of his daily work. The object of this interaction situation is "to influence or persuade others to buy property which he, as middleman, has for sale." The men who come into this occupation may come from such diverse fields as engineering, construction, personnel work, insurance or from some other selling jobs. The relatively large percentage of practicing salesmen in the 45-64 age range suggests that many agents begin selling after retirement from other jobs. The formal training of real estate salesmen is scanty. The recruit learns the skills of the work during the socialization process. In due time, he also learns to struggle, to withstand the keen competition of colleagues, to accept the fact that sales opportunities are elusive, and that success requires hard work and perseverance. The temptation of big money attracts many people regardless of their skill and talents. The turnover rate is high however.

(2)The Nature of the Work: The nature of the work is somewhat unstable. There are no definite working hours. Each day has its own schedule. Fundamental in the salesman's activity is "the cultivation of good personal relations." This involves the skillful manipulation of personal relations with buyers or sellers, colleagues, potential customers, mortgage brokers, advertising men, etc. The salesman is keenly aware of the fact that purchasing a home means a big investment, and for many clients it is the only such investment made in a lifetime. His commission--a substantial amount--depends on the many factors involved in the negotiations. The feelings of uncertainty about the outcome of a transaction are illustrated in these comments:

> I don't know yet. I can't tell. I'll know tomorrow morning, 'til then I'm on pins and needles. The basement is leaking there and there's a second mortgage, which she never told us about. The offer isn't accepted yet.

Adding to the instability of the work situation is the fact that the salesman must be approached by the prospective customer. The work of selling revolves around the negotiation and agreement of the two parties, buyer and seller, through the salesman. Whereas other selling fields tend to establish a set price for the commodity involved in the transaction, real estate sales are largely influenced by the bargaining power of the parties.

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

Time is an important element in this occupation. The salesman must be available at all times; his punctuality often controls the outcome of a sale. Time is not measured in hours but in achievement periods. The agent feels that he may lose commissions if he takes time off for leisure or vacation. The agent's time is his own.

The real estate company plays a limited role in the salesmen's education and training. The use of the company's time and their advertising serves as a recommendation for the salesman. The salesman's earnings are strictly from commissions; he must maintain a minimum volume of sales. The struggle for existence among salesmen is modified somewhat by their specialization in selected geographical areas or types of real estate. By and large, agents work on their own, with little cooperation from colleagues.

(3) Self-Image: The real estate salesman's self conception has positive and negative dimensions. He conceives of himself as an expert, a quasi-professional, engaged in the sale of a product that is basic to society. "Yet he is aware of the negative, unfavorable view of the public which attributes to him possibilities for illegitimate business deals, and involvement with large and tempting amounts of money. The two-fold image of the self is accompanied with a contradictory behavior--the desire for professional standards and prestige, and the desire for easy access to money, regardless of such standards." His conception of the customer is just as contradictory as his behavior; he suspects him of deception, yet he tries to win his confidence in order to make the sale.

The feeling of success is an important aspect of the work. Success is measured by money, i.e., the volume of sales, and by prestige. When income is low, lack of hard work, unfavorable economic conditions, or simply bad luck are the probable causes.

(4) The Selling Situation: The selling situation is influenced by the ability of the salesman to convince the buyer and the seller that his services are indispensable. "Both the customer and salesman are aware of each other's goal in the selling situation." The customer wants a home; it is up to the salesman to find him a suitable one from the houses he has available. As the salesman learns the customer's social and financial situation, he attempts to match the home and customer. In this process, he does not directly persuade the customer to buy the particular house; rather he redefines the customer's conception of a suitable property so that he can sell what he has available. This process is known as "redefinition."

(5) Techniques of Selling: The following patterns were observed:

(A) Manipulation of Time:

(1) Creating Suspense: The agent may tell the customer that the property is hard to get, and that many want to buy it. This will create suspense.

(2) Timed Pressure: The salesman believes that there is a "right" time to take advantage of the customer's desire to buy. He may prepare an offer in advance which requires only the customer's signature.

(B) Going Back After the Sale: By going back to the customer after the sales transaction has been completed, the salesman shows himself to be interested in his satisfaction.

(C) Creation of an Obligation: The salesman offers his services to the customer in order to obligate him to send prospective clients.

(D) Taking the Customer for Granted: The customer's intention to buy is always taken for granted. The agent may call the prospective customer, offering new listings, thereby showing that he is interested in serving him. Cultivation of friendship beyond sales is important, for the buyer may refer future business to him.

In order to accomplish a sale, the salesman will play up or tone down the desirability of certain symbols connected with a property. e.g., location of schools. Or he may refer to particular status/occupational groups to emphasize the desirability of a particular location; e.g., several doctors live on the street.

In the process of redefinition, probably both the agent and customer modify their images of each other. The salesmen may assume various roles. He may act as a friend, a negotiator, or advisor. The process of role-taking helps to predict and guide the behavior of others. The salesman must appreciate the customer's status and role in order to find him a suitable property.

Implications for Counseling:

Since this occupation requires a minimum of technical knowledge and a high degree of ability to influence people, the counselor will be primarily concerned with the personality characteristics of the particular counselee considering this career.

The latent function of the real estate salesman may well be anxiety reduction. Many people buying homes are overwhelmed with choice anxiety, and anxiety impedes the decision-making process. It may be hypothesized that the skillful salesman uses anxiety-reducing techniques. Most likely, the salesman makes much use of simple support and reassurance, relying upon authority and prestige symbols for the success of these techniques. Some insight into the counselee's ability to do this may be derived both from the life history data and from the interview.

The purchase of a home involves rather basic family values, including the possibility of conflicting values between wife and husband. Insight into basic motivations may help the real estate salesman be more successful. One general procedure he might follow is to analyze his customer's life style.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Operations of one real estate firm employing 28 salesmen were intensively studied. Members of other companies were also interviewed and observed. The basic techniques of data gathering included repeated structured interviews with

15 salesmen, 7 customers, and several managers and independent agents; field observations in the real estate office and on call with customers; and the use of a written questionnaire.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this study should be made with caution since the information presented here is applicable only to conditions that existed in the particular locale at the time of the study. Self employed real estate salesmen may vary from the salesmen employed by a company.

Theoretical Orientation:

The selling situation involving the real estate salesman and client is viewed as an ongoing process. The assumption is made by the author that the real estate salesman neither persuades the client to sell nor the customer to buy. Rather, he redefines the situation so as to indicate that it is advantageous to buy or to sell. The process of redefinition continues even after the sale is made, since, as Caplow has pointed out, the salesmen's activity is fundamentally the "cultivation of good personal relations."

SALESPERSON, FURNITURE **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 274.358

French, Cecil L. "Correlates of Success in Retail Selling," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXVI, No. 2 (September, 1960), pp. 128-134.

Description:

This is a study of a "big call" group of salesmen in a large retail furniture store in a midwestern metropolis. Unlike specialized salesmen who sold only one item in the store, the "big call" salesmen sold all conventional articles of furniture. This group was composed of twenty-one men and one woman. Each salesman received a weekly base pay plus a three per cent commission at the end of the month for all sales over his quota for that month.

When asked about the chief advantages of selling as a career, all except two of the salesmen gave "money" as their first answer. The chief disadvantages mentioned were long and irregular hours and trouble with customers following a sale. All of the salesmen perceived their jobs as being "dead end." This was a realistic evaluation in view of the fact that in four years' time only one salesman in the entire chain had been promoted to a junior-executive position.

On the basis of their sales records, the group of salesmen was divided in half. The top half were considered high producers and the bottom half low producers. A number of differences were noted between these two groups:

1. Nine of the eleven low producers planned to stay on their job until retirement, while only four of the eleven high producers planned to stay that long.

2. Ten of the low producers saw their present job as a step up from their former job, while only three of the high producers thought of their job in this way.

3. All of the low producers had been salesmen or held a lower prestige occupation all of their lives, but only four of the high producers had always been salesmen and none had held an occupation of lower prestige than salesman.

4. The fathers of the low producers were predominantly working class, while the fathers of the high producers were predominantly entrepreneurs.

5. On the basis of their own and their fathers' occupational histories, the low producers were upwardly mobile and the high producers were downwardly mobile.

6. The mean income expected by the low producers was $7,173 per year, while that of the high producers was $9,182.

7. The high producers identified their best friends as having occupations in the owner, managerial, and professional categories while the lower

producers did not.

8. On a census tract of residence index having scores ranging from a high of one hundred to a low of one, the low producers had a mean score of 56.3 while the high producers had a mean score of 74.2.

When the salesmen were asked to name the men they liked best, they tended to choose employees who had low- or middle-range sales records. Those high producers whose high production was achieved within the framework of the group norms were also chosen. In general, however, the salesmen believed that high production was achieved through violation of group standards (e.g., avoidance of small sales, stealing of sales).

The eight salesmen who named persons who had higher prestige occupations than their own as best friends were found to be the most rejected and rejecting members of the sales group. These men were willing to violate the group norms in order to obtain larger commissions.

Implications for Counseling:

The significance of social class as a predictor of performance in and adjustment to this occupation suggests the usefulness of instruments to determine social class. The Hollingshead Two Factor Index may be used as an objective measure of social class and the Sims Social Class Identification Scale may be used as a measure of social class identification.

It is not clear that the sales job described in this study may appropriately be described as dead end. Promotion for sales persons is frequently horizontal, leading to better paying sales jobs, usually in wholesale sales. In counseling employed sales persons, one approach in career planning is to explore the related, more attractive sales fields and to consider what qualifications are required to enter these. Sometimes, additional technical skills may be acquired through part-time schooling which would qualify the individual for better paying and more desirable sales jobs which are technical in nature.

Counselors are most likely to encounter counselees similar to those described in this study as being high producers. These individuals usually have a basic uncertainty as to their occupational status which is accompanied by ambiguous and unsettled vocational self-concepts. Personal adjustment counseling is frequently needed as much as vocational counseling.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"In a retail sales group, high production, as measured by sales volume and money earned, seems to depend upon the individual's disposition to violate the group's norms. The tendency was highly correlated with downward occupational mobility and a higher reference group or stratum than his own."

Methodology:

Methods employed in gathering data for this study were participant observation, sociometric choice, and formal and informal interviewing.

Cautions:

The generalizations are based on the behavior of one sales group in one store located in a midwestern metropolis. The adequacy and range of these generalizations need to be determined by replication of the study with other retail sales groups in diverse social settings.

Theoretical Orientation:

Salesmen who come from an achievement-oriented, middle-class background look upon sales work as a temporary occupation. Persons in higher occupational positions than themselves are taken as their reference group. They are high producers who are willing to violate the work group norms in order to obtain large commissions.

Salesmen who come from a working class background look upon sales work as a permanent occupation. Persons in the same or lower occupational positions than themselves are taken as a reference group. They are low producers who adhere to the work group norms.

SALESMAN, GENERAL (Ret. tr--Automobiles) D.O.T. Code: 280.358

ABSTRACT

Miller, Stephen J. "The Social Base of Sales Behabior," Social Problems, Vol. XII, No.1 (Summer, 1964), pp. 15-24.

The research on which this paper is based was supported, in part, by Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri.

Description:

Contrary to popular opinion, the automobile salesman is no longer the "wheeler and dealer" of the early post-war period whose sole concern was with personal profit. Today, he is the employee of the manufacturer-authorized agency and, as such, operates in a more restrained situation. His sales behavior is influenced, on the one hand, by prevailing agency policies and, on the other, by the sociological circumstances of the sales encounter. The salesman's conception of himself, his work, and the customer, all enter into the sales tactics and the salesman-customer relations.

Customers tend to regard automobile salesmen as "con men" who attempt to "put one over" the buyer. Consensus among salesmen appears to uphold this view: "The 'good' salesman is highly proficient at manipulating the situation and customer in such a fashion as to produce a favorable deal for the salesman." Although such an attitude toward the work appears harsh and lacking in moral scruples, the salesman resolves his feelings of guilt by attributing to his customers the same exploitative characteristics which mark his own behavior. The salesman's perception of the customer is revealed by the following remarks. "He [the customer] wants to get the most car for the least money and your job is to get the most money for your car....If he gets what he wants, you lose." The salesman rationalizes the exploitative aspects of his role by selectively perceiving and, if necessary, misinterpreting the customer's behavior in order to fit it to his own expectations.

According to opinions of car salesmen, the "pitch," i.e., the approach to the customer, is the most important factor in selling. When the pitch fails, the salesman blames the customer rather than his pitch. A sales transaction which has an unsuccessful outcome is not just a waste of time but is also a threat to the salesman's self-conception and status because the pitch is his style--his personal formula--for adjusting and adapting to demands of the social situation. "The successful outcome of a sales transaction not only results in a monetary gain for the salesman but, by indicating to him that he has found the formula which enables him to 'win friends and influence people,' adds to his personal feeling of worth and position as a salesman."

The automobile agency expects that the salesman's negotiations with customers will result in at least the minimum profit acceptable to the agency. The salesman, like members of other service occupations who come into direct contact with a customer, client or patient, has strong opinions regarding the way in which the sales transaction should be conducted. If, during negotiations, the customer attempts to control the sales transaction, conflict will result. The salesman will either thwart such attempts by appropriate tactics or terminate his relationship with the customer in some manner. The criteria for a "good" salesman, as conceptualized by salesmen, "is one who not only sells but is also adept at manipulating the circumstances of the negotiations so as to assure his control over the sales transaction."

The new car salesman who is engaged in the sales transaction calculates the profit potentials for himself as well as for the agency. In addition to the economic aspects, he is vulnerable to loss in such non-economic areas as status, work satisfaction, "and a personally acceptable and supportable concept of the self." In order to protect himself from loss in such non-economic areas, the salesman will, at times, turn away a transaction that holds promise of profit, thereby resisting economic prescriptions of the work role imposed upon him by the agency. For example, he will not negotiate a deal with a customer who may have information which would be to his advantage during the negotiations. "The salesman would prefer the loss of profit, both for himself and the agency, to involvement in a situation which is controlled by the customer."

Implications for Counseling:

In discussing sales careers with clients, counselors may have qualms about the exploitative aspects of many sales jobs. The counselor may question whether he should discuss the exploitative practices engendered by the occupational culture and the effect these can have on the individual's values and interpersonal relationships. The exploitative behavior adopted by some salesmen on the job may insidiously incorporate itself into off-the-job behavior and set the tone in relationships with family, friends, etc. The repercussions from this type of behavior could be unfavorable in terms of family relationships and the reputation of the family in the community. In other words, a novice salesman in acquiring the occupational norms of this occupation may be acquiring attitudes which adversely affect his life style. It is not unusual to find a salesman, even in a non-sales situation, attempting to control interpersonal relationships, much to the irritation of those in contact with him. In adult vocational counseling, counselors frequently encounter clients who have left sales work precisely because the exploitative practices were not compatible with their basic set of interpersonal relationship values. They felt most uncomfortable in attempting to exploit customers. Although counselors should not become "salesmen" for occupations, it seems fitting that in counseling people-oriented clients, they should point out that, while sales work makes higher incomes available, it may also provide a less adequate general life style.

It should be stated that not all salesmen are exploitative, and probably the automobile salesman is one of the more exploitative sales occupations.

The illustration given in this study--that some salesmen, even when confronted with the possible loss of a profitable sale, cannot tolerate the domination of the sales situation by the customer--supports a more general thesis that finds the classical economist's "economic man" theory of human behavior most inadequate.

Counselors might do well to examine their own counseling practices. Must they dominate the counseling relationship even at the risk of losing a client?

Scope: Occupation

Theoretical Orientation:

The sales transaction is viewed as an interaction between the customer and the new car salesman. For purposes of analysis, it is treated as a series of events: the "contact," marking the beginning; the "pitch," comprising the middle; and the "close," signifying the end of the social encounter. "Each phase arises logically out of and is influenced by the preceding phase."

Methodology:

"The discussion is based on information and materials gathered during a twelve-month period of observation and limited involvement in the social world of salesmen and operations of sales agencies. Most of the data were collected away from agencies, but frequent visits permitted observation of and actual involvement in more than a dozen completed sales transactions and numerous salesman-customer contacts."

Cautions:

Findings of this study were based upon selling practices of a particular locale. Market conditions in other areas may bring about other behavioral characteristics.

SOLICITOR (Salesman, Outside) ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 293.358

Levitin, T.E. "Role Performance and Role Distance in a Low Status Occupation: The Puller," Sociological Quarterly, Vol. V, No. 3 (Summer, 1964), pp. 251-260.

Description:

The performance of certain occupational roles, such as the puller,* threatens the fulfillment of certain psychological needs of the occupant, particularly the need for self-esteem. This study attempts to demonstrate that the incumbent to such an occupation, the puller, develops a specific and conscious technique, i.e., certain social and social-psychological arrangements and devices by which the work is made tolerable and even "glorious" to the individual. The technique varies with the specific characteristics ascribed to the types of people with whom the puller comes into contact. This allows the puller to act in accordance with the expectations of potential customers and thus increase the number of sales and, at the same time, to dissociate himself from the role he is playing in the occupational setting.

Repertoire of Techniques Implying Role Distance:

Elements of self-degradation are displayed in the humorous manner in which the puller encounters high-status people: "Hey, how come you don't buy a coat? Is it because I'm so ugly?" Introduction of this type of humor serves a dual purpose: (1) such comments facilitate the rapport necessary for successful salesmanship; (2) such comments indicate a certain degree of role distance. "If the puller makes himself, as a puller, an object of humor that both he and high-status customers find ridiculous, he aligns himself with that customer and separates himself from that ludicrous low-status occupation."

Separation from the occupational role is indicated by identification with ideas and activities usually accorded to high-status people. "This is a good coat. It's got class like a Cadillac or like fine jewelry like your earrings." Reference to items associated with high-status not only establishes rapport with customers but also indicates that the puller, as a person, is familiar with such items and, therefore, deserves more respect than his occupational role might indicate.

With low socio-economic status people, the puller's persuasive speech is directed more toward economy and sexual attractiveness and less toward quality. Rather than make himself the object of humorous comments, as in the case of high-status people, the puller tends to make those of lower status the object of that humor: "Find yourself a better husband with a new coat, OK?" Such comments and disrespectful humor do not noticeably alienate the people to whom it is directed.

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*The puller is "a salesman who stations himself outside the store for which he works, selects potential customers from passing individuals, and persuades them to enter the store, where other salesmen assist them in selecting merchandise."

It allows the puller to laugh at, rather than to laugh with, his customers and thereby implies a distance from the occupational role which does not allow such disrespect. The puller's most common approach to lower-status people is indicated by both words and gestures which demonstrate that he shares the same socioeconomic status with them.

To people of Latin-American origin, the sales approach is again different. The puller would throw his arms around both men and women as they walk by, address them with, "Hey, Señor! ", and assume a Spanish accent. To Negro customers, the term of address is consistently, "Sir," or "Madam." All these methods seem to indicate that the puller is a "specialist," who consciously calculates the means by which rapport and familiarity are introduced.

Role detachment is attributed to particular gestures and to the wandering gaze of the puller, following an initial contact with a customer. There is nothing in his voice, however, indicating the disinterest and distance expressed by these gestures. Observations further indicate that the gestures become particularly frequent when the puller encounters lower-status people.

Unexpected customer responses bring forth a regressive behavior. This is the only defense possible when self-esteem is threatened because the occupational role does not provide for any type of retaliation to the source of insult, which would be compatible with the performance of the occupational role.

Role distance is assumed in the pattern of communication with co-workers. A raising of the eyebrow, a slight puckering of the lips, signals the rating of a particular customer to other pullers. There is a great deal of physical contact, joking, and exchanging of insults among pullers during the slack periods of business. This all stops when a potential customer appears, but resumes rapidly whenever possible. The facility with which the conversation is picked up again at the same point seems to demonstrate the eagerness and ease with which the pullers totally step out of their occupational role at every opportunity.

An additional form of role distance was noted in the puller's response to the interview. Though explaining his performance, the puller detached himself from his role and appeared to indicate that he and the interviewer could watch him perform a role that was apart from himself.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is most astute in bringing to our attention the cues for rapid indentification of status used by the puller. This skill is characteristic of many service occupations. The author's observations concerning the puller's need to and techniques for becoming disassociated from a distasteful occupational role may be used as a model for appraising sales and service jobs.

This study could be of great usefulness in work with those people who do not find job satisfaction in this occupation and seek counseling with a view to leaving it. The understanding of the occupation derived from this study will help in appraising the adjustment problems such individuals will face in other occupations.

The occupation of puller confronts the counselor with an ethical dilemma. From the consumer's standpoint, the occupation is of no social utility, and whether it is considered to be of mere nuisance value or actually anti-social in nature is a moot point. The counselor is placed in the difficult position of deciding whether to bring knowledge of such an occupation to the attention of certain clients for whom such an occupation would be suitable. The occupation, likely, meets psychological needs of individuals with deviant personality characteristics who need to manipulate people aggressively (especially strangers), presumably to vent feelings of hostility. Should the counselor seek the adjustment of such individuals by guiding them into such an occupation as this one, or should he take the stand that the public is best served by his refusal to help recruit newcomers to this nuisance occupation?

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Information was gathered through observations lasting more than twenty-five hours and was supplemented by two unstructured interviews with the subjects during the period October, 1963, and February, 1964.

Theoretical Orientation:

Everyone with a vocation in a city, says Robert E. Park in The City (Chicago, 1925), has "the tendency...not merely to specialize, but to rationalize one's occupation and to develop a specific and conscious technique for carrying it on."

Mr. Levitin notes that "the method of study---assessment through observation---reveals the numerous ways occupational demands can be met, indicates the vast and varied repertoire of responses possible within a narrowly defined occupational role."

Cautions:

Findings of this report are the subjective, social-psychological interpretation of the observations and interviews of one individual at one particular locale.

MAID, GENERAL ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 306.878

Aubert, Vilhelm. "The Housemaid--An Occupational Role in Crisis," Acta Sociologica, Vol. I, No. 3 (1956), pp. 149-158.

"This article is an incidental product of a survey of the impact of labour-legislation upon the working conditions of housemaids in Oslo."

Description:

Conflicting occupational relationship and role expectations of the family and its domestic servant seem to characterize the position of the modern housemaid. The conflict stems from two different orientations of values which, on the one hand, are based on the occupation's historical origins and, on the other hand, are based on more recent legislative efforts. In its present stage, the occupation is wavering between two occupational models. One model, the traditional one, is structured along status lines with "Gemeinschaft characteristics." The other one is based on contract.

The Traditional Pattern:

In Norwegian society, the free servant replaced the serf when serfdom was abolished around the end of the twelfth century. Since that time, legislative authorities have constantly faced the problem of how to secure an adequate supply of servants and agricultural workers. At various times in history, specific legislation has been enacted to make it mandatory for certain classes of people "to seek employment in the service of others." These legal documents showed very clearly that the occupational role was largely based upon an ascribed status. Work performed by the servant was not determined by any objective set of standards; rather, it depended upon the master's particular moods and whims. For instance, "the master had, until 1891, a legal right to punish his servants just as he could punish his children." The nature of the servant's job was unspecified. Since the work frequently made it necessary for the servant to live with the master, the working hours were practically unlimited. The ambiguous nature of the occupation made a distinction between the work and private roles difficult. Under such conditions, states the author, "the problem is how the occupational situation gives satisfaction to needs [emotional] that belong to private sphere, since private life is something which doesn't exist for everyone." Evidence from literary and biographical sources suggests a possible answer: "Servants were often 'members of the family' and particularly the relationship to children offered avenues of immediate gratification;..."

In spite of her close relationship to the family, the servant did not become a part of the family social system. Status differentiations prevented it. In a traditional society in which Gemeinschaft patterns were dominant, status roles were prescribed not only for servants but for the master and his family as well. No matter how close the servant-master relationships were, the status differences and the accompanying social distance remained unaltered.

Contractual Patterns:

From around 1900 on, official publications began to reveal an interest in introducing elements such as achievement, uniform standards, and specific job content as criteria defining the housemaid's role. The achievement aspect, for example, was emphasized by the freedom governing terms of a contract; specific job content, by the limitation placed on work hours and time off granted; uniform standards, by the emphasis upon educaton and objective criteria for rating performance. Influenced by other occupational models, and by the decreasing number of housemaids, these characteristics were given legal sanction in 1948.

In spite of the law and general economic and social developments, the working conditions of many housemaids have preserved important aspects of the old traditional pattern. A recent survey of Oslo housemaids found that, in many instances, both the housewives and maids were ignorant of the law and the rights and duties defined in it. Hardly more than ten to fifteen per cent of all surveyed work-relationships were in full conformity with the law.

Conclusions:

Comparing the housemaid's working conditions to the more advanced conditions in industry makes it evident that her situation lacks certain "satisfying elements."

> She will, in many cases, find it difficult or impossible to evaluate her own work in terms of recognizable objective standards of performance. Although her work may have other satisfying features, she often lacks this essential source of self-esteem. Concommitant with this comes her lack of informal emotional contact with colleagues at the place of work. She cannot satisfy her craving for companionship in this way and she does not have a role in work-group as a possible substitute for direct work satisfaction.

She is bound to be frustrated because the content of her work, the proximity of her employer, and the working hours that establish no clear-cut division between private and 'public' roles encourage her emotional involvement while maintaining status distinctions and social distance.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is highly pertinent to the American manpower situation where a major shift of workers from manufacturing to service occupations is underway. The study gives us excellent insights into the ambiguous nature of this occupation as it is in America as well as Norway.

In America, on the one hand, there is a large supply of unemployed women with work skills and educational level appropriate to the occupation. On the other hand, potential employers of housemaids express concern over what they view as a shortage of interested and qualified applicants.

The conflict seems to lie in the differential view of the occupation held by the employer and the potential job applicant. An adequate solution of the problem will involve structural changes beyond the power of the counselor.

In working with the individual counselee for whom such an occupational choice seems appropriate, the employer's (housewife's) need to maintain her own status and social distance may be discussed. The counselee may be helped to understand that one of the requirements of the job is to meet the employer's needs for status and that this may be more important than cleaning behind the davenport. The counselee should also be warned that the housewife may be seeking a superordinate-subordinate relationship in which, as in psychotherapy, the emotional demands flow in only one direction.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Information was obtained from a representative sample of housewives and housemaids in Oslo by using the questionnaire survey method.

Cautions:

This study relates only to conditions in Norway. Consequently, the empirical nature of these findings may have limited applicability to the development of the occupation and the present role of the housemaid in the United States. The theoretical orientation toward the problem is, however, significant.

Theoretical Orientation:

The author assumes that in certain occupations "the occupational culture induces a disturbance in the motivational balance between work and private life." The occupation, housemaid, is one. "Certain elements in her [the housemaid's] role encourage her to wish for avenues of satisfaction which other elements in her role deny her." In other words, the occupational role makes demands upon the worker's private role without granting accompanying satisfactions.

Parsons' pattern variables, denoting value orientations, are used in this study as descriptive labels characterizing patterns of the occupational and private roles. The labels "affectivity, diffuseness, particularism, and ascription seem to have an affinity to private life." Work roles seem to be designated by labels such as "affective neutrality, functional specificity, universalism and achievement."

The conflict between private and work roles can be conceived of as stemming from the distinctive value orientations that are found in the two historical models of this occupation. Again, using Parsons' pattern variables as labels, the terms "ascription," "diffuseness," "particularism" and "affectivity" would be applicable to the traditional model in which relationships to the employer have many characteristics of the private role. The terms "affective neutrality," "functional specificity," "universalism," and "achievement" would be applicable to the contractual model and approximate the attributes of most present-day work roles.

MAID, GENERAL
(Domestic Service)

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: 306.878

Chaplin, David. "Domestic Service and the Negro," in Blue-Collar World, ed. Arthur B. Shostack and William Gomberg. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1964, pp. 527-536.

Description:

Domestic service, an occupation which attracts primarily females and workers with socially inferior status, is rapidly disappearing from the American scene. In turn, the number and variety of service occupations which provide many of the services hitherto performed by domestics are increasing.

Middle-class families express the greatest concern over the disappearance of domestic servants. These employers tend to have inconsistent expectations about domestic service. These stem from the fact that (1) employers base their expectations regarding the performance of domestic servants upon an aristocratic household model, and, yet, are unwilling or unable to hire the number of servants that such a style of service requires; (2) employers limit their obligations to domestic servants to terms of the impersonal service contract, and yet, expect the servant to express personal loyalty and to perform a wide and undefined range of duties, the nature of which are not spelled out in the contract.

Domestics, unlike factory workers who have acted collectively to improve their lot since the beginning of the 20th century, respond individually to employers' conflicting demands. As individuals, they either change jobs quite frequently and/or attempt to manipulate the personality factors in the particular employment situation to their advantage.

Several conditions inherent in the nature of the occupation are viewed as hindering job satisfaction. These conditions are:

1. The absence of fellowship
2. The absence of any objective criteria for the evaluation of an adequate performance of duties
3. Invasion of privacy
4. The absence of "paternalistic-servile" tradition.

Current situation: At present, the number of domestics is declining and concurrent with this is a change in the structure of employment. The occupation once entailed the servant's 'living-in" with the master. Today, the servant usually commutes daily to his place of employment. The disappearance of servants' quarters in modern urban homes undoubtedly contributed to the emergence of such an employment pattern. Daily commuting is a hardship for the servant, especially for the Negro since he frequently may live quite far away from his employer due to segregated housing practices. The emergence of part-time servants for the performance of specialized services further contributes to the dissolution of the occupation.

The changes in the occupation have drastic implications in relation to paternalistic master- servant relationships. (1) New categories of employers emerge, many of whom lack practical experience in handling servants or, for that matter, employees in general. (2) Part-time domestics have too many employers; their contact with such employers are too few and sporadic for the establishment of personal ties similar to those on which the traditional master-servant relationship was based. (3) With the exception of new recruits from the South, Negro domestics are increasingly "over-educated" for their work. Consequently, for a growing number of females, this type of work represents a bitter defeat in obtaining a better job.

Trends: In the opinion of the author, the following factors would favor an increase in the occupation:

1. Urbanization and the growth of the middle class
2. The migration of Negroes and Puerto-Ricans to Northern cities
3. The appearance in the labor force of a rising proportion of women
4. The rising qualifications for skilled labor.

Contributing to the decline of the occupation would be the following factors:

1. Increasing mechanization of housework because of home appliances
2. " Rationalization of consumer services;" i.e., the specialization and commercialization of certain services, such as laundry, window-cleaning, and the like
3. The increasing desire of the middle class for privacy (or an increase in the proportion of persons with middle-class values in our society) so that the domestic is unlikely to "live in"
4. Increasing cost of housing space
5. Decline in the number of boarders, children, and dependent relatives to be cared for in the home
6. Increase in public, manual-service jobs (such as hotel work)
7. " The shrinking supply of spinsters;" (i.e., an increasing amount of formal education together with marriage at a younger age which leads to an increasing proportion of married persons, leaves fewer spinsters available for housework as a prelude to marriage)
8. The decreasing willingness of workers to suffer the stigma of being a domestic or to endure the hours and invasion of privacy characteristic of this occupation.

The most effective forces contributing to the decline of domestic service have been: (1) the cessation of immigration, and (2) the equalization of income in the United States.

Consequences: (1) The kitchen is again the center of the U.S. middle-class family. Even the very rich have abandoned the mansion-style of life. (2) The status of housework has been raised due to improvements in home appliances and due to the fact that middle-class housewives do their own housework in many cases. (3) In some areas of the United States and in England where improvements in domestic facilities are lagging, middle-class housewives regard themselves as "slaves" of their families. (4) Participation of American husbands and children in housework has increased as has the trend toward informal family life style.

Conclusions: (1) The low prestige of the occupation has been responsible, in part, for the decline in recruitment. (2) The employers' and servants' mutual dislike of household chores has created the demand for home appliances and "packaged" services.

Implications for Counseling:

There seems to be an obvious lack of articulation between the needs of potential employers of domestics in the American economy and the needs of potential employees. Structural changes in the relationship are needed. One solution would be to increase the contractual relationship and decrease the personal relationship. Movement in this direction may take place as a result of school courses and special training programs designed to teach housekeeping skills so that domestics may proceed about their work with a minimum of supervision from the employer. In return, employers need to recognize their responsibility to treat domestic employees with some degree of objectivity and not require that they comply with all of their personal whims.

Vocational counselors who are concerned with the placement of individuals in domestic service might well follow up their clients with a view to attempting to understand the dynamics operating in the employer-employee relationship. Some of the modes of looking at the relationship are described in this report.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

The author provides no information about his research method. Most likely, the ideas presented in this article were based on observation.

Cautions:

Much of this article was based on the speculations of the author.

Theoretical Orientation:

Changes in domestic services are not to be overlooked. "Besides acculturating immigrants, domestic service has served as an escape from industrial labor-market norms for minorities unable or individually unwilling to take their place in the mainstream of our economic system."

PERSONAL SERVICE OCCUPATIONS ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 310-319

Whyte, William Foote. Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1948. 378 pp.*

Based on a research field study of human relations in selected restaurants in the Chicago area.

Description:

Smooth operation of the restaurant calls for a high degree of cooperation among all employees involved in the chain of production of food and service to customers. The highly interdependent division of work is a continuous source of conflict, growing out from the nature of the work itself, on the one hand, and from the interaction of persons with unequal social status, on the other. The central element in the conflict is time-- the means of social control open to all service employees, regardless of social status. Lapse of time in which an order is complied with may depend, in a large measure, upon the informal relationship (i.e., friendship) between the parties.

Problems of Status:

Within the restaurant structure, there is considerable social distance between the porter, or busboy, and the chef. When different restaurants are compared for the same position, the workers occupy quite different social statures. For example, in a working class district's cheap restaurant, the employees are universally rated at the bottom of the social pyramid. Regular factory workers consider themselves as occupying a distinctly superior position, in comparison. On the other hand, in the high-standard restaurant, the employees consider themselves above the factory worker.

Social background, age, sex, skill, wages, seniority, flow of work, and prestige value of materials used, are some of the factors which bear upon the social status of the employee within the restaurant structure. Operation of this social status system is a frequent source of conflict, for many of the employees who consider themselves of high status resent the fact that, in the course of work, they take orders from, and are rushed by, persons considered beneath their status.

(1) The kitchen: The status system of the kitchen is organized along two dimensions: (1) the prestige value of the food being used, and (2) according to the hierarchy of stages of preparation; i.e., the range where all the cooking is done ranks the highest, followed by the salad station, then the chicken-, vegetable-, and fish-preparatory stations. Within each rank further distinction of status is made along the order of cleaning and preparation of the food used. For example, the person who

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*This abstract summarizes pp. 1-123, the portion which describes implications of social status among restaurant employees. The remainder of this book discusses aspects of human relations from the standpoint of managers and supervisors.

cleans parsley and chives ranks higher than the one who peels onions.

The kitchen is a frequent source of conflict. The cook's compliance with orders sets the pace for the entire chain of employees involved in the service of customers. The cook who considers himself of high status resents being rushed and ordered about by low-status employees, such as the runners (an intermediary personnel carrying food to the service pantry).

The runners are inexperienced, often very young persons who, when they perform well, can advance to a position of higher status. Their wages are considerably lower than that of the cooks, and the cooks have the great advantage of seniority. Social status of the runners is just a little above pot washers and sweepers.

(2) The service pantry: The service-pantry girls portion out the food delivered by the runners to the waitresses. In this job they are constantly on the receiving end of the waitresses' temper. The waitress yells at them not because she honestly blames them for lack of service but because it relieves her pent-up anger, caused by irate guests, supervisors, or by the tempo of work.

The service-pantry girl is in a position in which she must constantly respond and adjust to perhaps as many as thrity waitresses. Faced with such pressures, there is little that she can do except to cry or talk back on occasion.

(3) Countermen and bartenders: Sex and age factors play an important part when action is originated for another. Male countermen and bartenders generally resent waitresses giving them orders. In many restaurants, an artificial barrier is set up: a high countertop or a spindle to place the orders on. This seems to give an impersonal atmosphere to the otherwise "unnatural" situation.

(4) Waitresses and waiters: The type of behavior that is expected of waitresses varies with the social status of the customers they serve. For example, in a low-standard restaurant which caters to working class people, the waitresses are free to handle customers according to their own ideas - within certain limits. They could talk right back to annoying customers. This is an important factor in their emotional adjustment to the work.

In a high-standard restaurant, on the other hand, waitresses face a quite different situation. They wait upon middle- and upper-class people, they are not free to talk back, and they find that some of the customers show little respect for them.

The waitress in a high-standard restaurant earns far more than the salesgirl in a department store; through her work she has unusual opportunities to make contacts with people of higher social standing, to observe their behavior, and to develop aspirations in that direction. It is then a very frustrating experience to have to put up with irate customers, or to be pushed around by one's equals or inferiors.

The problem remains pretty much the same in the case of waiters. They find it difficult to adjust to constant subordination. The exception may be the waiter who adheres to the ideology that is characteristic of the European waiter.

In European countries, the waiter does not expect to be the equal of the people he serves. Rather, he expects to gain his satisfaction through serving them well. And, equally important, the customers take his position for granted: they do not question the fact that he is not something better than a waiter. The waiter's job enjoys greater prestige in Europe. Waiting is a profession. One starts at the bottom as an apprentice and learns from the ground up, coming to know everything that there is to know about running a restaurant.

In contrast, in the United States the waiter's job has fallen in status. It is believed here that all men are created free and equal, and no man looks forward to waiting on others.

The custom of tipping is another source of status problems. Aside from the economic aspect that at least half of the service workers' earnings come in the form of tips, some waiters and waitresses feel that some customers use their tipping power to demand a subservient attitude and special favors.

The tipping system is also a social rating system. The amount of tip is interpreted by waiters and waitresses as representing what the customer thinks of them. The "stiff," i.e., the customer who leaves no tip at all, may be interpreted by the waitress as an indication of personal failure in the performance of her job.

Restaurant jobs can never be fitted into a pattern of routine which automatically provides emotional stability. Crying because of work pressures is frequent. It seems that crying is somewhat related to length of experience. The more experienced girls cry less, for they are much more aggressive toward service-pantry workers and bartenders, and thus they are able to get rid of some of the pressure in that direction.

In general, three types of waitress-customer relationships may be distinguished:

(1) The waitress holds the initiative from beginning to end.
(2) The customer holds the initiative throughout.
(3) It is uncertain who is taking the lead, and the initiative passes back and forth or remains in dispute.

From the standpoint of emotional stability, either of the first two relationships is feasible, and it is the third type which leads to confusion and emotional upsets.

Many waiters and waitresses are troubled concerning their status problem in relation to customers. Many customers look upon the job of waiters and waitresses as an unskilled job, and thus accord low prestige to the work. Although little skill is required to carry a tray from kitchen to dining room and back, the evidence of this research indicates that great skill is required to adjust to a wide variety of customers and fellow workers in order to build a friendly, congenial work atmosphere.

Downward occupational mobility may create problems for the girl of middle-class background who finds herself taking orders from people whom she considers to be her equals and, in some cases, her inferiors. The customers do not recognize her formal status. The girl, then, may find it exceedingly difficult to adjust to such unaccustomed subordination.

The situation is different in the case of college girls who take seasonal jobs in the restaurant. The college girls recognize that the job is only temporary, that their social standing does not depend on the job, and this helps them to ignore insults from customers. Furthermore, these girls are not looked upon as ordinary workers by their superiors.

For the girl recruited from small towns, rural areas, and urban working classes, the restaurant is the channel for upward mobility. These girls must adapt themselves to middle-class behavior and standards. More important still, they must learn to adjust themselves to people of higher status. They must appear to subordinate themselves to customers, and, at the same time, learn to manipulate the people and the situation to their own advantage.

Implications for Counseling:

The client's status and his status expectations should be appraised. Objective location of status may be obtained with the use of the Hollingshead two-factor index. Client social class identification may be obtained with the use of the Sims Social Class Identification Scale.
upon request from the Research Department,

Male clients who identify with the occupational goal of chef because it is on the managerial level should be made aware of the status frustration situations awaiting them in small restaurants. Married women clients are less vulnerable to status frustration, as their status is primarily dependent upon their husband's occupational position. The social class of the clientele patronizing a restaurant, and its relationship to client status needs, should be a factor discussed in job hunting.

In short, is the client capable of playing a non-threatening subordinate role in relation to customers and higher-status restaurant employees? More specifically, does he have the ablility to be non-threatening to others, even when his occupational role requires that he initiate action for others?

Since Whyte's study was completed, the increase in the number of two-year technical institute and junior college courses in food management adds new dimensions to the status problem.

Scope: Occupational field

Methodology:

During the period May, 1944, to July, 1945, twenty-five selected Chicago restaurants of various size and types were studied. Data was gathered by personal interviews and participant-observation methods.

Theoretical Orientation:

The restaurant as a business organization is a unique combination of production and service units. Success depends upon the skillful coordination of production and service to customer's demands. Division of labor among employees, especially in the larger establishments, calls for a great amount of skill in handling personnel relations on the part of supervisors and managers. An understanding of the status system, and its symbolic correlates, operating within the industry and between employees, is of importance in the successful handling of human relations.

ASYLUM ATTENDANT
PSYCHIATRIC NURSE

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: 355.878
075.378

Adams, Fred Thomas. "Role Accommodations: A Study of Nurses and Attendants in a Mental Hospital." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1958.*

Description:

This study explored the patterns of role accommodations made by nurses and attendants in an anonymous hospital termed "Southeast Mental Hospital." It was observed that organizational demands and expectations of interrelated occupational groups were in conflict with conceptions of the work roles held by nurses and aides. In response to these role conflicts, patterns of role accommodations developed.

Formal Division of Labor--Role Definitions:

In most organizations, one's role is determined by the definition of his activities toward the accomplishment of organizational goals. According to the division of labor designed to achieve these goals, the person is given a particular status and a set of activities. Ideally, the work role should be defined by the position one occupies within the organizational structure. The position should interlock with every other position within the organization.

At Southeast Mental Hospital, it was found that the work roles were not clearly defined in many instances. For example, the ward employee's role was defined by formal guides, schedules, and orders. The actual division of labor between nurses and ward attendants, however, was blurred. On occasion, the relationship between the two groups of personnel appeared to be contrary to organizational and status expectations. It was believed that these conditions resulted, to a large extent, from the role accommodations that the respective employees made in response to organizational and group demands.

In the hospital, the nurse's status and role were defined in terms of administrative functions. She was responsible to the nursing supervisor and to the ward psychiatrist for certain activities on the ward. These included the care of patients and the preparation and maintenance of certain records and reports. The nurse was not expected to participate in the direct care of patients or to perform clerical activities involved in the preparation of her records and reports; rather she had to insure their accurate accomplishment by the attendant personnel.

The ward attendant's formal role and status in the hospital were defined according to the work delegated to him. He was regarded as an administrative tool; he was to follow orders given by the nurse in most instances. His duties consisted mostly of caring for the patients, although, on occasion, he practically ran the entire ward.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Conflict with Role Expectations:

The ward attendant expected to perform such menial tasks as are involved in direct patient care. The theories expressed in the training program of the hospital had led him to believe that he was to interact freely with the patients. As the aide gained more experience on the job, however, he found that such contact was not expected of him in the actual situation. The nurses as well as the attendants agreed that informal contacts were not an integral part of the work routine. Thus, there was a conflict between the expectations of the formal organization (i.e.,the hospital) and the conceptions of the nurses and aides.

Similar conflicting expectations plagued the role of the nurse. Upon starting a job in the mental institution, she expected to engage in direct, conventional nursing duties. Instead, she found that attendants were performing most of the technical duties and she was responsible for coordinating her ward activities with those of the other hospital units. Instead of receiving close supervision from her supervisor and advice from the doctors, she found that she received very little assistance from these persons and was left on her own to run the ward. When she expected the attendant to follow her orders, she found that the aide resented her authority and insisted on being treated as a "person of worth." The discrepancy between the nurse's conception of the "sick" patient (i.e., the physically ill patient) and that of the mentally ill patient provided another source of conflict. Often, the mentally ill patient gave little indication in terms of appearance or behavior of needing conventional nursing care and so deprived the nurse of an expected satisfaction.

Patterns of Accommodation:

In spite of the fact that technical nursing duties were being performed by attendants, the interview data indicated that nurses persisted in viewing themselves as performing conventional nursing duties. The author's observations indicated that the nurses' conception of the role, in this instance, was erroneous. The nurses' typical responses regarding the situation were seen as a pattern of accommodation.

Although the ward attendant was assigned a subordinate status and was to follow orders of the nurse, by his actions he compelled the nurse to modify the nature and the extent of her supervision. The ward attendant regarded himself as a "person of worth," who was not accorded recognition and respect commensurate with the importance of his job.

The Persistence of the Nurse's Self-Image: The persistence with which the nurse held on to certain role conceptions which were inconsistent with reality was reflected in other types of accommodating mechanisms. For instance, she appeared to be critical toward the aide and felt resentment toward him; yet, she praised his educational attainment and his qualifications for the job. In reality, both of these characteristics were limited in scope. Frequently, she expected the aide to perform his duties at such a high level of proficiency that it approximated the performance level of the nurse. At times, she arranged her work schedule so that the attendant had sole responsibility for the operation of the ward. In this way, she freed herself from the necessity of supervising the aide's performance.

Usually the nurse avoided the patient who did not conform to her ideal image of the "sick" patient. The mental patient who did not appear to be "sick" constituted a threat to the nurse's self-conception since she felt that there was little she could do. She found legitimate excuses to ignore him by insisting that clerical tasks and the collection and dissemination of information necessitated her absence from the ward.

The value system within the hospital encouraged the nurse to avoid the patients. She was rewarded for her administrative proficiency rather than for spending time with the patient. She was further discouraged by the psychiatrists from having contact with the patients and by her belief that she could adversely affect the recovery of the patient by saying the "wrong thing" to him.

The Persistence of the Attendant's Self-Image: Although the attendant appeared to know his "place" in the organization, his manner toward the persons with whom he worked day after day indicated how much he really resented their authority. If the nurse in charge of the ward made too many demands upon him and made him aware of his inferior status, he retaliated by withholding information from her that she needed. Taking unnecessary sick leave or showing "passive resistance" were still other methods by which the aide expressed his resentment toward authority.

To enhance his self-image, the aide tried to assume a nurselike status and behavior. In most instances, because of his training, he was capable of modeling his activities after those of the conventional nurse. The rapid turnover among nurses and the formal definition of his role, i.e., taking care of the patients, facilitated his assumption of a nurselike status. Since the aide was in more constant and frequent contact with the patient, he sometimes tended to belittle the nurse's conception of the duties involved. Although he admitted that the nurse had more education and training than he had, he did not necessarily regard these factors as valid reasons for her enhanced status. For the attendant, it was often the act rather than the principle that counted. As far as he was concerned, the nurse's skill and knowledge were essential only for instructing and advising him in administrative matters or in case of an emergency. He conceptualized his relationship with the nurse as one resembling a teacher-pupil relationship.

The assumption of a nurselike status was prominent in the aide's relationship with patients. Like the nurse, he preferred the "sick" patient who would respond to his nursing care since he derived his job satisfaction from ministering to the patient. He, like the nurse, tended to avoid the patient who did not appear to be "sick." He also used administrative duties as an excuse for leaving the ward.

To protect his self-image, the attendant often avoided the performance of tasks which tended to degrade him in the eyes of the patient. For example, he preferred to delegate the performance of cleaning chores on the ward to patients.

When all other mechanisms of accommodation failed, the attendant established a complementary relationship with the patient by assigning him an imaginary status. For example, if the patient did not accept the attendant's nurselike status, the aide might compensate for his failure by assigning the patient a childlike status, and himself, a parentlike position. If the aide's relationship with the patient could not be protected by such a mechanism, the attendant might then choose to view the patient as a parasite of society whose presence in the hospital was an excuse to evade responsibilities outside the hospital.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors may helpfully discuss these status and role problems with counselees considering careers as either nurses or attendants in mental hospitals.

A knowledge of these problems is also useful to vocational counselors who counsel patients currently in mental hospitals and former patients of mental hospitals. A knowledge of the hospital social environment is essential to an understanding of the fears, anxieties, and reactive behavior which may stem from the hospital experiences. Much client behavior is, for vocational counseling purposes, better understood when interpreted within a framework of institutional practices rather than in terms of the pathological mental processes which resulted in hospitalization. In counseling such patients, it is well to encourage them to discuss their hospitalization experiences. The pattern of relationships with attendants, nurses, and other patients offers clues to the counselor as to the way in which the patients may relate to others during the immediate post-hospitalization period.

New experiments now being conducted with more democratic ward management will probably initiate role changes for both staff and patients.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The major research techniques used in this study were observation and interviews, supplemented with questionnaires. Records of various sorts (personnel, leave, and ratings) were examined. A total of 104 persons, including 11 nurses, were studied extensively.

Cautions:

In the opinion of the author, several conditions limited the scope of the present study. The number of nurses was small; the doctors' and nurses' tenure was relatively brief, and there were a number of organizational and personnel changes which affected the relationships. The location of the study also limited the findings since practically all ward personnel were from "non-urban and small urban places in the deep South." Moreover, the personnel at "Southeast" Mental Hospital exhibited certain selective characteristics that were probably not found elsewhere.

Theoretical Orientation:

The problem of role accommodation was approached from the viewpoint of the reciprocal actors and from the observable demands of the organizational structure. Seemingly, the work situation as defined by status groups did not allow the full exercise of important personal or group values. The image of the individual was thwarted or opposed in interpersonal relationships and by the impersonal assignment of activities. The persons involved attempted to overcome prestige or other differences between themselves and those "above" them in the organizational hierarchy by controlling output or forcing their immediate superiors to treat them as near-equals.

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ASYLUM ATTENDANT (Psychiatric Aide) D.O.T. Code: 355.878

ABSTRACT

Melbin, Murray, "Organization Practice and Individual Behavior: Absenteeism Among Psychiatric Aides," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXVI, No. 1 (February, 1961), pp. 14-23.

This paper is drawn from the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "Bureaucratic Process, Personal Needs and Turnover Among Psychiatric Aides," University of Michigan, 1959.

Description:

The study investigates the relationship between employee absenteeism and turnover, and the frequency of work reassignments among aides in psychiatric hospital wards.

The evidence gives support to the hypothesis that changes in work assignments foster absenteeism in aides. Changes and absences may mutually affect each other. "Absences stimulate reassignment immediately, for it is the absence of one aide leaving a role slot unfilled which leads to another being reassigned in order to maintain coverage." Steady assignments may be conceived as rewards for good attendance, and changes are punishment for unrelibility. Nurses may tend to assign reliable aides to preferred wards, shifts, and days off. The chronic absentee, however, is left to fill whatever vacancy occurs in the ward.

Organizational requirements and their implications for the employee:

A hospital which gives seven-day, twenty-four-hour service on numerous wards is faced with unending coverage problems. Shortages on one ward demand transfer of an aide from another ward. Work reassignments create problems for individual aides.

(1) An aide must adapt to a different group of patients and staff.

(2) A shift rotation means meeting a new staff and the same patients in new routines; at the same time, it upsets the established patterns of sleep and activity, and fitting in with friends and kinfolk in the community.

(3) A switch in days off may prevent the aide from joining his family in customary leisure time pursuits.

Effects of employee absenteeism and turnover:

(a) Hospital
Employee changes result in large expenses for recruitment and training. The frequent gaps in role relationship interfere with the organization's day-to-day functioning.

(b) Employee
Absenteeism not only results in loss of wages but may bring about changes in the supervisor's attitude toward the employee and, in turnover, the possible stigma of being unemployed.

Implications for Counseling:

The types of changes discussed herein (ward transfer, shift rotations, switches in days off) are commonly found only in organizations which have a twenty-four-hour continuous period of activity taking place. Thus, the work period is longer than the customary work week of the employee. In addition to hospitals, some hotel personnel, certain salespeople in large department stores, and some employees in public transportation, may face similar reassignment situations. The worker's role in the family and family expectations may be especially important considerations in view of the frustrating time demands of the job.

Scope: Occupational Field

Author's Abstract:

"Voluntary quitting of employees and their dismissal are varying outcomes of an extended process of leaving. When these events are combined, a significant relationship appears between absenteeism and turnover among psychiatric aides. The hypothesis that work reassignments foster absenteeism is tested simultaneously against the null and an alternate hypothesis by 'sitting' on each absence as a reference point and comparing the number of reassignments occurring before and after that event. The hypothesis is supported, and the pattern found to be more extreme among aides who leave the job. The introduction of explanatory intervening variables is considered, as well as other effects of the convergence of individual needs and organizational requirements."

Methodology:

"Evidence...was collected in studies of psychiatric aides at two midwestern hospitals, 'East' and 'West.'" Examination of employees' attendance records and interviews were the chief methods of data gathering. At West Hospital (wholly neuropsychiatric), a fifty percent random sample from a list of male aides who worked with patients during the day provided 153 cases; from East Hospital (providing general medical services) thirteen aides working on the two small psychiatric wards were eligible to be included in the sample.

Cautions:

Note that this study was confined to a small sample working in a highly specialized environment.

Theoretical Orientation:

"Individuals and organizations are viewed as acting, responsive systems." A fundamental principle of bureaucratic organization is the interchangeability of personnel. "The organization endures beyond the work lives of individuals holding jobs within it at any given time, and it must be able to replace one job incumbent with another without disturbing the continuity of its operation." Bureaucratic organizations differ in how this principle of personnel interchangeability is implemented. The degree of fitness between individuals and organizations is affected by the manner in which the organization meets its personnel requirements and by the personality needs of the individual employee.

ASYLUM ATTENDANT **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 355.878

Rubington, Erwin. "The Psychiatric Aide." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1955.*

Description:

This doctoral dissertation examines the occupational culture pattern of the psychiatric aide. It is assumed that this peculiar pattern of occupational culture develops as a solution to the problems inherent in the work role. For the most part, hospital regulations and practices are in conflict with the official aims of the aides' training program.

I. The Hospital Environment:

The official, stated goals of the psychiatric VA hospital are the cure, care, custody and control of the patient. In addition, there seems to be an unstated but proximate goal of self-maintenance. In the author's opinion, not all existing hospital practices materially enhance the welfare of the patient. For instance, one may question the therapeutic value of maintenance chores that are generally performed by the patients.

An unstable, "dangerous" atmosphere characterizes the hospital environment. The conflicting ideologies among professional personnel, shifts in opinion as to what constitutes the best method of care, and ambiguous and vague hospital regulations accentuate the unpredictable character of the hospital.

In this setting, the psychiatric aide occupies the lowest status among the professionals charged with patient care. Yet, it is the aide who has the most intimate, prolonged, daily contact with the patients. In the bureaucratic hierarchy of hospital administration, he is designated as part of the general nursing staff, under the supervision of the nurse. His duties are unspecified or are vaguely circumscribed in the regulations. Much of the interpretation of the work role is left to the aide or to the nurse in charge of supervision.

II. The Job of the Psychiatric Aide:

The conditions surrounding the psychiatric aide's job are problematic. First, the job has low status. Second, it is contrary to culturally-held values of society that a man be taking orders from a woman, and that he be subject to her authority. Third, the position, itself, does not offer hope for advancement. It is under civil service so that the pay increases over the years are negligible. Fourth, the job is hazardous; one must be constantly alert because the behavior of the patients is unpredictable. If violence occurs, the physical strength of a man is required to subdue the patient. Finally, the conditions are further aggravated by an in-service training program which is designed to modify the existing work routine of the aide.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Practices Conflict with Theory-- Examples: The new aide is subjected to a series of cultural conditionings which are not integrated with one another. In his first week of training, the novice receives a short, formal orientation course taught by nurses. Then, he is placed in a ward. Here, the second phase of the training process takes place. He learns the informal work routines and skills from his peers. The final phase of the training takes place at a later time when the aide is enrolled in a seventy-five hour in-service training program administered by nurses. Existing hospital policies ignore the second phase-- the informal instructions given by the older, experienced aides. Although the majority of such informal work skills are illegal in terms of hospital regulations, they are effective when the objective is to maintain order on the ward.

The author's observations indicate that such illegal skills develop as practical solutions for crisis situations when no guide lines are provided by the formal training of the aide or by hospital regulations. Examples of such illegal skills are the use of physical force, verbal threats, or, in the extreme case, a request for the transfer of the inmate into another ward. The occupational culture of the psychiatric aide transmits these skills to the novice and sanctions their use. Contrary to hospital philosophy which considers the patient "sick," the occupational culture labels him as "crazy," and allows the use of power and stern authority.

The uncertainty and danger inherent in the job situation of the aide is counterbalanced by his invention of descriptive labels denoting the peculiarities of the patients; such a practice allows the aide to categorize the inmates into convenient stereotypes, a practice which is contrary to hospital policies. Labels such as "the eloper," "the complainer," "the mean," and "the soiler" are quickly transmitted to the group, and the threat posed by the unpredictability associated with mental patients is thereby removed.

The hospital rules and norms usually ignore the existence of informal social groups and their effect upon the individual behavior. Some form of social relationship inevitably develops between patients and aides. Patients, for instance, who are labelled "good contact" and who are fairly predictable are allowed to assist the aide in his daily routine. These patients enjoy a preferred status and have a better chance to improve their conditions.

III. Elements in the Occupational Culture:

Self-Image of the Psychiatric Nurse: The occupational culture of the psychiatric aide places a high value upon masculinity in order to combat the feminine domination of supervisory nurses, on the one hand, and the atmosphere of crisis, on the other.

The occupational culture pattern of the aide generates pressure against work on the medical ward of the hospital. The reasons for it are to be found in the fact that the authority of the nurses is more noticeable there so that the aide is forced to be a mere "bed pan jockey."

The occupational culture of the aide has developed certain compensatory mechanisms for denying the existence of fear when the unpredictable and dangerous mental patient is confronted. Accordingly, the occupational self-image of the aide is the image of a man with a "tough" personality, "capable of mastering situations wherein physical courage and powers are considered the most suitable techniques for dealing with mental patients."

Control of the patient seems to be the most important aspect of the occupational role. The risk-- the factor of unpredictability-- is exaggerated. The aide sees himself as the person who is the most competent to handle patients. Other professional personnel are seen as not being that capable. Rather, they are believed to arouse fear in the patient.

In the course of work, the psychiatric aide is confronted with abuse, name-calling, homosexual advances, and extreme dependency of the patients. Such episodes are threatening. The reassertion of masculinity and the striving for higher status reflected in the self-image are conceived as solutions for these conditions inherent in the work role.

Ideology: Ethnocentricism seems to be one of the central characteristics of the occupational ideology. There is resentment against the nurse. It is believed that she does not do much work around the patients, and that perhaps she should be replaced by men who are much more capable of handling them.

Perhaps nurses have more professional competence in terms of formal education; they lack, however, practical experience. They have less intimate contact with the mental patients. In the occupational ideology, one's professional competence--i.e., formal training--is underrated as "theory." Experience, on the other hand, is overrated. Often, the aide's assessment of the situation with regard to the mental patient is more valid and correct than the nurse's judgment. This creates status problems. The occupational culture capitalizes on this status dilemma and questions the legitimacy of existing status arrangements in the hospital.

A form of protest against the existing status hierarchy is expressed in the principle of least effort. Accordingly, the aide "refuses to stick his neck out." Since maximum effort and display of initiative cannot alter the aide's chances for gaining power, wealth and prestige; and since his action would endanger his relations with other aides and professional personnel; he adheres to the limitations upon competition and role expectations prescribed by the occupational ideology. Security in interpersonal relations and with hospital authorities is guaranteed, according to the ideology, if the aide asks no questions, does only what he is instructed to do, and does no more.

Normative Patterns: The occupational culture of the aide allows the use of physical force in order to maintain control over patients. This is in violation of the hospital culture's dictum which prescribes that any hospital employee who witnesses any form of abuse of a patient should report it. The culture of the aide circumvents such a dictum by suggesting that the witness should "look the other way."

Although gossip is specifically forbidden, it goes on constantly among the aides. Gossip serves several important functions: 1) it is an effective means of social control, 2) it reaffirms the validity of those norms of the occupational culture which are at variance with hospital norms, and 3) finally, it is a way by which the aides break down the formal communication barriers that the hospital attempts to impose.

According to hospital culture, the psychiatric aide should maintain "professional" behavior with the nurses on the ward. This means that he should accede to their authority and respect their appropriate ranks. For instance, the aide should rise whenever a nurse enters the ward.

In response to this feminine domination, the occupational culture has developed two alternative modes of action. The aide may avoid all contact with the nurse, or he may seek opportunity for informal social ties.

On the whole, the aides have considerably more respect for the medical authority of the doctors than for that of the nurse. Their desire to have more contact with the doctors is in direct proportion to their attempt to decrease contact with the nurses.

IV. The In-Service Training Program:

The in-service training program of the hospital has difficulty in achieving its goal, i.e., inculcating objectives of the milieu therapy. The reason for this failure may be due to the fact that while one set of ideas is taught in the classroom, another entirely different set is true in practice on the wards. The aide is given lip service as being part of the medical team but no efforts are made to elevate his status accordingly in the hospital hierarchy. The doctors continue to practice deference to rank by communicating through the nurses. The aide does this, too, when in case of an emergency, he takes the nurse's order because he has little time to contact the doctor.

In the occupational culture of the aide, the novice is looked upon with suspicion; he is threatening and he cannot be trusted. Illicit practices of the culture are protected and every attempt is made to deflate the program and ridicule its participants by name-calling.

Implications for Counseling:

The older, VA neuro-psychiatric hospitals have been typically located in rural areas or in areas adjacent to small towns. Frequently, psychiatric aides employed in these hospitals have constituted a substantial minority of the working population of the community. This has made possible the reinforcement of the occupational norms and increased the social control of the occupational group over the individual worker. The recent tendency to build new VA hospitals near urban areas may lessen this reinforcement pattern.

Recent, drastic changes in treatment and management of patients may also change the psychiatric aide's role. Greater control of patients through the use of tranquilizers, for instance, has reduced the number of patients on closed wards.

New concepts in milieu therapy would seem to offer the psychiatric aide the opportunity to change his role from a custodial to a much more creative one. This would result in an improvement in interest and in job satisfaction.

Unfortunately, psychiatric aides are sometimes regarded as pawns and are manipulated to facilitate milieu therapy, with little thought being given to their job satisfaction and status needs. They are asked to acquire some of the knowledge and attitudes of professionals but are not accorded the corresponding status. Blocks to greater job satisfaction in a newer role are to be found in the hierarchical hospital system with its overemphasis on differential status.

Although this occupation has many negative aspects, it is one of the few outlets for men of borderline to low-normal intelligence who have limited education, a strong social service orientation, and an interest in job security rather than high wages. Prior to the advent of automation, it is likely that individuals with these needs worked in factories which provide high wages but low job satisfaction. Layoffs due to automation offer some of them the opportunity for greater job satisfaction through transfer into such an occupation as the psychiatric aide.

In addition to using the usual interest and personality inventories for the identification of counselees' social service interests, counselors would do well to scrutinize their life history data for evidence of social service interests. Indications of such interests would be revealed by such things as the counselee's above average interest in his own children and in activities with them--volunteer leadership in Little League, the Boy Scouts--in visiting sick friends, etc.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

The research was carried out in a large 2000-bed, VA neuropsychiatric hospital. Investigation of conditions and collection of data were carried out by the author during an eighteen month period during which he was employed there as a graduate research assistant on a research project studying the socio-cultural aspects of the VA hospital. The method of participant observation was supplemented by the examination of various records, interviews with hospital personnel, and administration of a questionnaire to a random sample of 104 psychiatric aides.

Cautions:

Findings of this study may be generalized with caution. They represent the author's subjective evaluation of responses to a unique set of circumstances in a particular institution at a given time.

Theoretical Orientation:

The writer of this dissertation asserts that five conditions peculiar to the occupation of psychiatric aide impose special problems of adaptation upon the occupants of the work role. The five problematic conditons referred to are:

1. Low prestige of the occupation.
2. Blocking of social mobility.
3. Frequent association with deviants, i.e., mental patients.
4. Feminine domination (the aides work under the authority of the nurses).
5. Aides are subjected to directed cultural change; i.e., there is an in-service training of aides designed to modify the existing philosophy of custodial care to bring it in line with the newer philosophy of milieu therapy.

By the development, sharing, transmission and perpetuation of a special occupational culture pattern, the problems are being solved.

The occupational culture pattern, as conceived by the author, contains the following interrelated elements: (1) a set of skills (a particular kind of job behavior that is expected from the individual); (2) a set of normative patterns (the rules and regulations of the group which prescribe and limit what ought to be done); (3) an occupational self-image (including a set of specifications as to how the "ideal man" behaves in the occupational role); and (4) an ideology (a perspective peculiar to members of the group).

A conceptual framework for the study of occupational culture pattern under the five problematic conditions is set forth.

GUARD, PENITENTIARY ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 372.868

Lundberg, Donald E. "Some Aspects of the Job of Prison Guard." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1946.*

Description:

A portion of this Ph.D. dissertation attempts to describe the role of the prison guard as seen by a number of conscientious objectors who had been imprisoned. This phase of the study seeks to determine the extent to which the prison guard is considered by them to be instrumental in the inmate's rehabilitation process.

1. Although the role of the prison guard is almost as ill-defined as the objectives of the prison, the person "is looked upon not just as a keeper of criminals, but as much of an agent of rehabilitation as is consistent with the principles of penal administration, as laid down by public opinion and legislation."

2. The ambiguity of function is reflected by the different job classification titles for the prison guard: For example, in the Federal penal system he is called custodial officer; in the State of Massachusetts, he is known as correctional officer; criminologists refer to him as prison officer.

3. To the warden, the "good" guard is the good "jail man," the person who can take a group of inmates outside the wall and bring them all back. To the educational director, the best guard is the person who understands human nature, is understanding, and is versed in tutoring. To the industrial supervisor, the good guard is the mechanic who knows his trade, can relay his knowledge to the inmate, and maintain production.

In their replies to questionnaires concerning the role of the prison guard, the group of imprisoned conscientious objectors saw the majority of officers as men with average qualities and weaknesses, who were doing primarily a custodial job, with little concern for the reformation of the inmate.

From a check list of personality traits of custodial officers, the following characteristics received the highest frequency rating: 1) average in intelligence, 2) fearful of authorities, 3) generally distrustful, and 4) negative toward inmates.

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*This abstract summarizes only that portion of the Ph.D. dissertation which, in the abstractor's opinion, is relevant to the interest of vocational counselors.

Replies from concientious objectors to the question "Generally speaking, what was most commendatory about the custodial officers?" could be categorized as follows:

1. Officers commended for breaking rules and doing favors not condoned by regulations.

2. Officers commended as being human beings, with the same flaws and qualities of mankind in general.

3. Officers commended because they were 'good' officers, impartial, conducted themselves as 'officers,' were impersonal, well-groomed, and did not do more than the system demanded of them.

4. Officers commended for being very friendly and helpful to inmates, and for being sympathetic and understanding.

Several of the conscientious objectors expressed a deep sympathy for the guard, his job, his loneliness, his lack of social standing in nearby communities, and the fact that he was merely a cog in a wheel.

One of the inmates had written the following comments:

> Most of them were just average men, some young and ambitious, some aging and complacent. The ambitious ones were, more often, ambitious for their own careers in the Bureau, than for any salutary effect they might have upon the men in their custody. Indeed, their reaction to the custodial duties was exactly the inverse of ours: the disrespect was mutual. We did not want keepers; they felt the insult also, in having to behave like keepers.

There was a general feeling among the inmates, as one recalled, that the prison officers were men who have proved incompetent in other walks of life, and have taken up this work as a refuge.

The effectiveness of the prison guard as an agent of rehabilitation was limited, not so much by his personality characteristics, as by the unhelpful situation of the prison itself. For the inmates, it was difficult to make any long, enduring friendship with the guards although small favors by them, insignificant under normal circumstances, were recalled with appreciation.

The following comments of an inmate reflected the difficulties well:

> It is hard to love the man who holds the key to your prison cell, whose authority stands between you and your friends, whose curious eye scans your letters and those you receive before deciding whether you will be permitted to communicate with them. The officer can be a saint, but the prison makes him a tyrant with respect to you. It is a tribute, not so much to the prison,

> as to the personal qualities of some of the officers, that they are able in some measure to overcome the tremendous handicap, and engage in limited friendship with the men....The custodial officers feel the need of moral justification for what they are required by their office to do. With the exception of the obviously violent prisoner, the need of iron restraints is not clear to anyone, and the mechanical performance of the minutae of custody is demoralizing to the officer, who feels the offense he is committing against human dignity.

Implications for Counseling:

This occupation is a highly complex one in terms of social role, and several definitive studies would be required to augment our present understanding. It is likely that there are a number of different roles subsumed within the occupational title, each of which or a combination of which may enable the guard to meet the minimum requirements of the occupation.

When large prison institutions are located in small towns--a frequent occurence--prison guards and their relatives and friends make up a substantial minority of the population of the community and are not without political and other influence. The role requirements of the job are frequently prescribed by the influence of this power block. It is believed that this influence is a more strongly supportive and constraining factor than the findings of this study would indicate. The counselor will need, therefore, to know the general influences operating with respect to this occupation and, in addition, the specific local influences operating in the community in which the custodial institution is located. A secondary factor in role determination is the administrative policy and the personality characteristics of the guard.

It is not clear whether the occupation of prison guard fits suitably into a career pattern in the protective field. Some counselors feel that it logically does; they regard the prison guard as an entry occupation rather than as a terminal one since it may be easier to enter than some of the other protective occupations. In the instances of separation from the military and the counseling of veterans, the occupation is seen as a civilian equivalent of service as an MP. Hence, it is seen as a suitable transition to a civilian occupation.

As long as the role of prisons in our culture is so filled with ambivalance and confusion, the role of prison guards will continue to reflect ambiguities.

Counselors working with parolees, individuals on probation and ex-prisoners will find this to be useful background information in evaluating the environment to which clients have been or might be exposed.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

One hundred and seven conscientious objectors, imprisoned during 1944-1945, were the subjects for this phase of the dissertation. Information was obtained through questionnaires mailed to the subjects.

Cautions:

The prison guards described in this study are not representative of prison guards in general. Since they are employees of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, they are better paid, have more training generally, and are considered to be a part of one of the best prison systems in the world.

The sample of this study, the group of conscientious objectors, are more perceptive and intelligent than the average prison population. They represent the viewpoint of a very specialized group which may not be in accord with the opinion of a more general inmate population.

Also, the time and circumstances of imprisonment, i.e., World War II, may have influenced the opinions expressed in this study by the inmates.

Theoretical Orientation:

"A study of any job would usually premise a knowledge of the duties and purposes of the job in question." With the job of the prison guard, this is not true. Theoretically, the guard is supposed to act as an agent for the rehabilitation of inmates, but there are indications that, in actuality, in terms of criminal law and in the minds of the legislators and penal administrators, the role of rehabilitation is a secondary consideration.

GUARD, INSTITUTION (Prison) D.O.T. Code: 372.868

ABSTRACT

Sykes, Gresham M., "The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation," Social Forces, Vol. XXXIV, No. 3 (March, 1956), pp. 257-262.

The data for this paper has been gathered in connection with a "study of the determinants and consequences of social adjustment in prison." Portions of the article appeared in Crime and Society, Random House, Inc., 1956.

Description:

The common stereotype of a maximum security prison official is the brutal and sadistic guard who exercises the maximum social control over the criminal locked by himself in a cell. This is an unrealistic picture.

"Like many social roles organized around the theme of potential crisis, the guard's position demands a fine edge of readiness which is difficult to maintain." A prison guard may rigidly enforce all rules pertaining to cellblocks on the grounds that a trivial violation of the regulations may be the first sign of a serious breach in the prison's defenses; or--and this is probably the more frequent case--he may be bullied into forgetting the potential dangers of his position and overlooking minor infractions of the rules. He is constantly under great pressure to take into consideration the reactions of the men he controls, as well as the institution's requirements for security.

Top prison officials, as well as inmates, tend to corrupt the authority vested in the office of the prison guard through the following schemes:

I. Corruption through friendship

The correctional officer is in close and intimate association with the prisoners day after day. He cannot withdraw himself physically from the company of the inmates, nor can he share with fellow officers his feelings of resentment against capricious orders issued by higher prison officials. In the inmates, then, he finds willing sympathizers who, like him, claim to suffer from the unreasonable orders of superiors.

In many cases the guard has ambivalent attitudes toward the criminals. The poorly paid guard may be gratified to associate with a famous racketeer or a notorious criminal. Also, there may be a discrepancy between the judgment of society and the guard's values as far as the "criminality" of the inmate is concerned.

II. Corruption through reciprocity

To a large extent, the guard depends on the inmates' good will and cooperation for the satisfactory performance of his duties, since he is evaluated by his superiors in terms of the men's conduct, cleanliness of cells, and other similar matters. He cannot rely on force or threats of punishment in dealing with the inmates. He is one against the many. If a riot should break out, the guard knows that he would become a hostage, and the good will of the inmates would then become a valuable form of insurance to save his life.

Prison officials, too, frown upon the guard who constantly uses the few negative sanctions available to the institution; e.g., the withdrawal of recreation facilities and other privileges, as well as solitary confinement. Thus, one of the best "offers" the guard can make is to ignore the minor offenses or to make sure that he never places himself in a position to discover infractions of the rules.

III. Corruption through default

The guard's authority may be destroyed if he allows inmates, whom he has learned to trust, to perform his minor daily chores; e.g., making out reports, locking and unlocking doors. Such laxity may happen for reasons of indifference, laziness, or naivete on the part of the guard. It is usually difficult to remedy the situation. "In the first place, a guard assigned to a cellblock in which a large portion of control has been transferred in the past from the correctional officer to the inmates is faced with the weight of precedent." It requires a good deal of courage on the part of the guard to face the aggression of inmates who fiercely defend the status quo established by custom. In the second place, if the guard himself has allowed his authority to be undermined, he may find that his attempts to rectify this error are checked by a threat from the inmates to send an anonymous note to the guard's superior. On occasion, this simple form af blackmail may be sufficient to maintain the existing balance of power.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselees with strong dependency needs and low ego strength may have difficulty in this kind of work. Findings of this study may be applied with caution to certain other custodial-type institutions.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

An eastern state maximum security prison with an inmate population of approximately eleven hundred was the subject of this study.

Cautions:

Generalizations should be made with caution since the observations were made at one custodial institution only, at one particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

The prison community is conceived as a social group made up of "custodial and professional employees, habitual petty thieves, one-time offenders, gangsters, professional racketeers," and various other types of criminals. The prison officials represent a custodial force charged with the primary function of preventing escapes and maintaining internal order. Standing in opposition to the official system of control exists an inmate social system--a more or less organized criminal group. Guards and prisoners, in the course of daily living, become involved in a complex pattern of social relationships in which the authority of the guard is subject to a number of corrupting influences. An understanding of the nature and extent of this corruption contributes to an understanding of the effectiveness or ineffectiveness of imprisonment in rehabilitating the adult criminal.

FIREMEN, FIRE DEPARTMENT ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 373.884

Matthews, Thomas James. "The Urban Fire Station: A Sociological Analysis of an Occupation." Unpublished M.A. thesis, State College of Washington, 1950.*

Description:

This master's thesis described the organizational and social characteristics of the "Green City" Fire Department.

1. Organization and Communication: The Green City Fire Department is organized on a line-staff basis. The line organization--including the fire chief, 20 battalion chiefs, 49 captains, 96 lieutenants and 611 privates--is responsible for the extinguishing of fires. The staff of the department is responsible for fire inspection and prevention, for the maintenance of the alarm system, keeping of records, and for the repair of the equipment.

The operation of the communication system in the Fire Department is analogous to the human nervous system. The line organization may be thought of as a voluntary sub-system, and the alarm organization as the autonomic sub-system. Communication throughout the alarm system is oral, and where necessary is facilitated by a two-way radio. Communication in the line organization follows the channels of the organizational hierarchy and is carried out orally or in written form. For the most part, downward communication is in the form of orders; upward communication is in the form of reports and requests. In addition, there exists the informal communication system, the "grapevine." This tends to serve the needs of the firemen rather than the needs of the department. The mode of communication in this system is oral and, on several occasions, has led to distortion of messages and confusion.

2. Spatial and Physical Organization: The distribution and arrangement of the fire fighting equipment and stations determine the deployment of firemen within the organization. There are three types of fire districts in Green City: the engine, truck, and battalion districts. The truck districts service a larger area than the engine companies. The battalion districts are the largest among all since their primary function is to supervise the performance of the engine and truck companies.

The urban fire station, as a physical unit, contains the fire fighting apparatus and equipment, and the firemen's personal belongings. It is a combination home and work environment, containing a kitchen, lounge, sleeping quarters, watch office, apparatus room, and hose tower.

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*This thesis has been abstracted selectively.

3. Personnel: Recruitment of personnel is a lengthy process. It consists of three stages: civil service examination, interview with the Chief of the Fire Department, and a probationary period. These stages are designed to select men who are capable of doing the work and who have the ability to adjust satisfactorily to the environment of the urban fire station. During the probationary period, the new recruit is expected to familiarize himself with "operating standards" of the department and the location of the various fire stations. During the in-service training program, he acquires such technical skills as "taking the hydrant," climbing ladders, and laying hose lines. After his first month of training, he is introduced to watch duty, taught how to receive alarms and messages, and how to keep the day book. He is told about the Green City Firemen Relief Association which provides him with accident insurance. At a later time the recruit learns about the pension system of the firemen. During the probationary training period the recruit will acquire the particular vocabulary of the firemen.

Since the men spend a great amount of time together at the station, the social skills involved in getting along with others are of importance. During informal conversations, the novice learns what the proper relations between an officer and the firemen are; the treatment of individualistic or eccentric firemen; and to be quiet about infractions of the rules. He also learns how to take a "riding" (i.e., be subjected to excessive 'raillery') from other firemen. At the end of the probationary period, some sort of informal initiation ceremony marks the acceptance of the "rookie" to full status.

"Tricks of the trade" are devices or methods which may save the fireman from mistakes that could be injurious to his health. The majority of these tricks are told freely to the recruit; others, however, are well guarded by the older firemen. Among such guarded tricks is the technique of smoke eating, i.e., getting breaths of fresh air from the tip of the hose.

4. Station Work Relationships: In the emergency period of fire fighting, the formal organization of the fire station is dominant. At all other times except, perhaps, when simulated fire drills are held to prepare the men for actual fires, an informal set of relationships assumes the dominant role. The informal cliques of firemen serve to satisfy needs of the firemen which are not met by the formal organization. They provide collective support for their members and afford them the opportunity to "blow off steam" without fear of reprimand. Leadership in these cliques is not fixed, although it appears to be influenced by the formal organization. For example, the driver or the acting officer is frequently the clique leader.

Since much of the fireman's time on duty may be spent in "killing time" while awaiting a call, a variety of activities are undertaken to pass time. The public stereotype of the "lazy firemen playing cards" is due to the lack of understanding as to what the real function of this activity is; it is not pursued so much for the sake of enjoyment as for the purpose of filling the time while waiting.

5. Earnings and Union Activities: It is somewhat difficult to evaluate the remuneration of firemen in relation to other community occupations since a number of factors are involved. Although the position offers several advantages to the men--i.e., security, a high pension at a relatively early age--there are disadvantages as well, i.e., the hazards involved in the work and the actual amount of annual salary. Taking all these factors into consideration, however, the firemen are generally satisfied with their earnings.

The firemen's union has two unique characteristics: (1) It recognizes its commitment to society by a non-strike clause, and (2) officers as well as privates of the fire department comprise its membership. The primary function of this union is to secure wage increases for its members and, in general, voice complaints against top administration in the fire department or the city government.

The opinions of firemen toward the union are mixed. Some regard it as an important force which is instrumental in the improvement of their lot. Some feel that the union's non-strike pledge greatly weakens its bargaining power. Some firemen consider union activity detrimental to advancement. "As the men are promoted, they tend to drop out of union activities."

6. Mobility, Status, and Control: There are two general patterns of mobility among firemen. The predominant horizontal pattern is the movement of younger men toward bigger and more active stations and the movement of older men to stations located in outlying residential sections. Upward mobility from private to lieutenant, then to captain and to chief can be accomplished by successfully passing the qualifying civil service examinations. Factors that facilitate upward mobility are believed to be: (1) tradition of success, i.e., some relative holding a high position in the department; (2) service in a high value district (such a man is likely to have had a variety of experiences); (3) demonstration of interest (one would visit burned out buildings on his own time, show an interest in the methods and procedures of fire fighting, etc.); (4) reading and studying; (5) demonstration of leadership qualities; (6) having truck and engine experiences; (7) having some education or training beyond high school; (8) avoiding union activities.

The prevailing status system in the fire department sharply differentiated officers from firemen. From the firemen's point of view, the officer might be characterized as "good," respected, or strictly adhering to the rules.

In the ranks of privates, the first status distinction differentiates the rookie and the regular crew member. Such status distinctions may be in effect as long as three years, or until the man has reached a certain rank. One may acquire status in the ranks of firemen by his ability to stay in a smoke-filled room for a long time. Status distinctions also exist in terms of hierarchical rankings of position.

Among the officers the status distinctions are less noticeable. In the formal system, seniority and office determines status.

On the group level, higher status is accorded to truckmen than to enginemen, to "big time" stations than residential stations, to older men than to younger men, to officers than to crew members. Group status is also reflected in the type of work performed. Manipulation of tools and equipment is the lowest rung on the ladder. Supervisors of people, i.e., officers, hold a higher status. People who work with symbols and ideas--fire inspectors--hold the highest status.

Within the city, the police department holds a higher status than the fire department. Men may leave the fire department to become policemen but the reverse, rarely, if ever, happens.

Distinctions in rank are also made in the firemen's uniforms. The most uncomfortable status distinction--at least from the viewpoint of firemen--is the officer's privilege of having a private room.

Additional factors that were found to denote status were: (1) kinship, i.e., having an officer of high status as a relative; (2) authority; (3) freedom from immediate supervision; (4) action--making frequent runs; and (5) type of work performed.

Formal control in the fire department is based on operating standards established by the chief and executed by the officers. Informal control over officers primarily concerns social relationships and is based on standards of the station's work group. Informal sanctions against an erring officer or fireman may range from joking to the "silent treatment," not talking to the individual unless he changes his attitude.

Implications for Counseling:

Since the occupation of fireman is a highly visible one, clients should be able to appraise it realistically. Visits may easily be made to fire stations, and firemen have plenty of time to talk with visitors about the nature of the work.

How much adaptability to discipline the counselee has is an important factor to be considered in the selection of this career. The larger the department, the more strict the discipline. Also, some conflict with the public may be encountered over such things as water damage, how prompt evacuation of inhabitants of burning buildings is or is not, and false alarms.

The statistical chances of death or injury should be considered by the counselee and weighed against the hazards of other occupations he might enter.

The limited transfer value of the occupation needs consideration. A discussion of a second career is important in view of the early retirement age of firemen. The extensive "waiting time" on the job offers ample opportunities for preparing for a second career. Correspondence courses, in particular, may be adapted to this purpose.

Scope: Occupational field

Methodology:

The data for this study were collected by means of "participant experience, observation, interviews and the perusal of records." The author served twenty-one months as an engineman and, later on, as a truckman in the Green City Fire Department during the early 1940's.

Cautions:

This case study described the conditions that existed in the Green City Fire Department in general, and at Station Twenty-Three in particular during the summer of 1948. Generalizations should be made with caution since the results were obtained from one situation at one particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

The writings of Burleigh Gardner (Human Relations in Industry), Roethlisberger and Dickson (Management and the Worker), and Wm. F. Whyte (Street Corner Society) are the bases for the author's theoretical approach in assembling and analyzing the data pertaining to this study of the urban fire station.

POLICEMEN AND DETECTIVES, PUBLIC SERVICE D.O.T Code: 375.008-375.868
and 377.868

ABSTRACT

Westley, William A. "Violence and the Police," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIX (July, 1953), pp. 34-41.

Description:

This study explored the illegal use of violence by the police force.

The use of violence by the police is both an occupational prerogative and a necessity. Its use is justified when a violent criminal, a drunk, or rioters are to be subdued. The author's observations indicate that the police will also use violence in instances where its use is not an absolute necessity. The use of brutality then serves the purpose of enhancing the status and self-esteem of the police. Two kinds of experiences illustrate this point. First, it is noted that excessive brutality is used in the arrest of a felon in order to obtain a confession. The policeman usually has less opportunity than the detective to apprehend an offender. Thus, when the patrolman detects a crime or actually apprehends the possible offender, he will use all means to obtain a confession before the arrival of the detectives. A further justification for violence in such instances arises from the fact that almost every police department is under continuous scrutiny and criticism from the community. They feel that they have to justify themselves to the public both as individuals and as a group. They feel that little credit is given to them for accomplishing routine duties. Dramatic solutions of big crimes are likely to result in good newspaper publicity, and the policeman who has made many "good pinches" gains prestige and status among his colleagues. In the second instance, justification of illegal violence is found to exist in the control of sexual conduct. Investigation of sex crimes is made difficult by the fact that victims are extremely unwilling to cooperate in revealing details of the deviant's activity. "These difficulties are intensified by the fact that, once the community becomes aware of sexual depredations, the reports of such activity multiply well beyond reasonable expectations." The public demands that the offender be apprehended. "Apprehension (however) is extremely difficult because of the confusion created by public hysteria and the scarcity of witnesses." A policeman's statement illustrates how the use of violence in such an instance is justified:

> They feel that it's okay to rough a man up in the case of sex crimes. One of the older men advised me that if the courts didn't punish a man we should. He told me about a sex crime, the story about it, and then said that the law says the policeman has the right to use the amount of force necessary to make an arrest and that in that kind of a crime you can use a little more force.

Individual policemen vary in the degree to which they assimilate the norms of the group, i.e., the use of violence. To a great extent, it will depend on their conception of the role. Policemen cannot and do not employ sanctions against their colleagues who resort to violence. Even those who condemn its use and avoid it whenever possible will refuse to openly condemn their colleagues for acts of violence. All policemen, however, are conscious of the dangers involved in the illegal use of violence. If detected, the man may be subject to a lawsuit or possible dismissal from the force. Therefore, the usage is limited only "to what they think they can get away with." If a man is believed to be guilty of a serious crime, the police will "cover up" for their brutality by accusing him of resisting arrest.

The extent of brutality and violence depends upon the nature of the group or persons against whom its use is intended. "Discriminations with respect to the public are largely based on the political power of the group, the degree to which the police believe that the group is potentially criminal, and the type of treatment which the police believe will elicit respect from it."

Variations in the administration and community setting of the police also affect the use of violence.

Implications for Counseling:

Some of the brutality of the police can be explained by the individual's psychological needs, in addition to the sociological explanations offered in this study. The semi-legitimatized opportunities for violence which are offered by the occupation of policeman are a ready outlet for the frustrations and hostilities some of them have.

Insofar as it is possible, the counselor should be concerned with discouraging individuals with excessive hostilities from considering police work as a career. These individuals may be identified through an analysis of the life history data, the interview, standardized personality inventories, and projective techniques.

Counselors working with individuals on probation or parole and/or ex-convicts should be aware of the brutality to which these counselees may have been exposed and the impact this exposure may have had on their attitudes.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"A case-study of a municipal police force in the United States suggests that the illegal use of violence by the police is a consequence of their occupational experience and that the policeman's colleague group sanctions such usage. Policemen see this use of violence as morally acceptable and legitimate in terms of ends defined by the colleague group in preference to legal ends. They see these colleague-group ends as constituting a legitimation for violence which is equal or superior to the legitimation derived from the law. They conceive of violence as a personal property to be used at discretion."

Methodology:

Data for this article were drawn from a case-study of the municipal police department in an industrial city of approximately 150,000 inhabitants. Materials for this study were based upon participation in all types of police activities, ranging from walking the beat and cruising with policemen in a squad car to the observation of raids, interrogations, and the police school. In addition, intensive interviews with 73 policemen drawn from all ranks were conducted.

Cautions:

The findings were based on observations of only one municipal police department. For the most part, this article was based on the author's interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

It is asserted that the illegal use of violence by the police results from the policemen's desire to defend and improve their social status in the absence of effective legal means.

Cumming, Elaine, Cumming, Ian, and Edell, Laura. "Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend," Social Problems, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Winter, 1965), pp. 276-286.

Description:

The policeman's manifest role is that of a social agent involved in the control of deviant behavior. Involvement in and performance of duties of an emotionally supportive nature is a latent (or secondary) part of the policeman's role. This study deals with an analysis of requests for help received by a city police department and the policeman's responses to them. Special attention is paid to the policeman's latent role of support.

The requests for help were grouped into two major categories: calls about things and calls for support. Calls for service in connection with things or possessions comprised nearly one-third of all calls. These calls included traffic violations, reports of losses or thefts, calls about unlocked cars, fallen power wires, etc. Calls for support comprised about one-half of all calls. They were concerned with personal problems of either a persistent or periodic nature. Persistent problems--problems that occur throughout the week--included ambulance escorts, investigation of accidents, suicide attempts, trespassing, destructive behavior, noisy behavior, and drunkenness. Periodic problems--problems that occur mainly on the weekend--included disputes and quarrels of all kinds, violence or potential violence, missing persons, and youth gang activities. About three-quarters of all calls were answered by dispatch of a squad car to the scene.

In many cases, the policeman must exercise a kind of clinical judgement about complaints. This judgment often reflects his own values. "The field notes suggest, for example, that policemen are sincerely, if sentimentally, concerned about children, and that negligent parents are likely to find the police at their most truculent."

If a call is considered serious enough, a captain will follow the squad car to the scene. Police action in these cases generally falls into three types: (1) the police act as guide or conveyors to the courts and hospitals; (2) they attempt to resolve problems by giving concrete information and advice about what is and is not possible under the law; (3) they settle problems "using some consensual method based on mutual understanding between the police and the people involved."

The following observations regarding the police and police activity were made:

1) The police are used by poor, uneducated people in much the same way as doctors and clergymen are used by middle class people.

2) The police must enforce laws on the powerless which are flouted by the powerful.

3) Policemen are recruited from lower status groups in the population.

4) Policemen have little knowledge of social and medical agencies and do not

see the relevance of these agencies to the problems with which they are confronted.

. . .

5) Policemen are bitter about their low pay and the punitive label that is often attached to them by the public.

Implications for Counseling:

The authors of this article see the policeman's manifest role (i.e., the way the public regards him) as control of deviant behavior, and the latent (or secondary) role as an emotionally supportive one. For the counselor, these different roles raise the question as to whether the social-service oriented counselee seeking to enter police work is likely to be more efficient and more satisified in the long run than the physically powerful, tough, 'smart cop' type.

In some instances, the supportive role may be the easiest way to control deviant behavior. The policeman who, by "counseling," can reduce the anxiety of the would-be suicide to the point where the individual does not jump in the river is obviously simplifying his own work by making it unnecessary for him to fish the individual out of the river after he has jumped.

The size of the community in which the policeman is employed may be important. It would appear that the village policeman is more likely to pursue the emotionally supportive role. In the megalopolis, the police are more likely to encounter situations in which deviant behavior has progressed to the point where emotionally supportive techniques would be futile and the use of force or threat of force, therefore, has become imperative.

In counseling veterans, vocational counselors encounter many clients who are motivated to enter a police career to utilize service experience with the military police. The problem here would be to differentiate between those for whom this is really a good career choice and those for whom it may be only an expediency.

Recent police training programs initiated in two-year technical institutes may substantially change the way some new entering workers perform the role.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Data were obtained from two sources: (1) Telephone calls at the complaint desk of the Syracuse, New York Police Department. As each call was received, a description of it was dictated into a tape recorder. A total of 801 incoming calls were recorded over a total of 82 hours. The hours during which calls were recorded were not consecutive. (2) Interviews. Detectives were interviewed concerning their special assignments in order to obtain a conception of the nature of the policeman's supporting role.

Cautions:

The findings were based on observations of only one metropolitan police department. The hours of observation were not randomly distributed among days of the week or hours of the day. The generalizations are therefore based on a limited sample of calls to a police department. It is possible that important variations in the type of call received occur according to time of day and day of week.

Theoretical Orientation:

The policeman's supportive behavior constitutes the latent, and, therefore, amateur segment of his role performance. His supportive role is not recognized or legitimated by other agents responsible for maintaining social integration. They recognize only the policeman's manifest role of control. Because his supportive role is not recognized, the policeman cannot mobilize other agents (doctors, lawyers, clergymen, social workers, teachers, etc.) when he needs them. There is, therefore, a lack of integration in a system responsible for maintaining social integration.

SAILOR (government service) **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 378.999

Zurcher, Louis A., Jr. "The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution," *Social Forces*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (March, 1965), pp. 389-400.

Description:

In our society, individuals usually move from one environmental setting to another in the course of their daily activities--for example, from the home to the office, to school, or shopping. Each type of activity involves a different place, atmosphere, and social setting. There are some individuals, however, who due to special circumstances are confined under one roof, in one environment, cut off from the rest of society. Mental hospitals, cloisters, and ships are examples of such places. Erving Goffman defined these settings as "total institutions" (*Asylums*. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961) and described their characteristics as follows:

1. All activities are conducted in the same place under the same authority.

2. Each phase of the individual member's daily activities is carried out in the immediate company of all others. All members are treated alike and are required to do the same things together.

3. All phases of the daily activities are tightly scheduled. One activity at a pre-scheduled time leads into the next one. The entire sequence of activities is imposed from above, and is governed by formal rules and by a body of officials.

4. All activities are so designed as to fulfill the official goals of the institution.

5. There is a clear distinction between supervisors and members. Social mobility between the two groups is very restricted.

6. Information concerning the fate of the members is often withheld from them.

7. Work assignments in the total institution are on a twenty-four hour basis.

8. Usually, there are some real or symbolic barriers which indicate a "break with society out there"; i.e., distinguish life in the total institution from that in society at large.

The following brief characterization of the Navy ship and the description of the sailor's role aboard the ship offer evidence that the ship is, indeed, a total institution.

Aboard a vessel at sea, the captain's authority is absolute in terms of custom and law. "He has total responsibility for and to the men and the ship. His influence spreads over all activities of the crew." Daily duties and activities aboard the ship are tightly scheduled and are set forth formally in the so-called plan-of-the-day." In it are specified such things as what uniforms will be worn during what time of the day, or what time meals will be served. The schedule is so designed as to fulfill the purpose of the formal organization. The official purpose in the case of the Navy ship is to "provide defense during or a deterrance for, war." Concurrently, there seems to be another goal present, an informal one, that is closer to the heart of the crew--"to sail 'our ship' somewhere for some particular purpose." Interestingly, the military presents campaign ribbons, very similar to the type ordinarily worn by personnel, to the ship itself. The men who serve on a ship which has been distinguished in this way are fiercely proud of, and tend to anthropomorphize, the "brave ship."

There is a clear distinction between officers and crew members aboard the ship. This distinction is readily apparent even to the casual observer. The uniform, insignia, watch assignments, liberty, and work schedules vary according to rank and seniority. Social contact between officers and enlisted men is officially discouraged and is very limited in practice. As a rule, for example, no enlisted sailor enters into the "chief's" quarters without express permission.

The work schedule aboard the ship is on a twenty-four hour basis. Watches, drills, and training exercises are held during the night as well as in the daytime. The sailor, one of the lowest men on the ship, often doesn't know the destination of the ship in advance. He often doesn't know he is to be transferred until he is handed the orders.

The formal organization of the Navy ship is set forth in the published regulations which are made in accordance with orders from Washington. What the general tasks of the ship are is decided by the Navy Department, taking into consideration, of course, the architectural characteristics of the vessel. "Periodic inspections by higher authority remind all aboard a given ship that they are a part of a larger element, and must live up to the expectations of the Commodore, the Admiral, or the 'man in the Bureau'."

The official duties of the sailor are determined by such formal processes as: rate and rating; shipboard assignment during working hours; the Watch, Quarter and Station Bill (i.e., emergency assignment rules); the Uniform Code of Military Justice (codified articles of conduct, discipline and punishment); the Plan-of-the-Day; the Captain's policy; the department and division policies.

Primary Adjustment: The sailor's behavior in accordance with formal expectations is termed"primary adjustment." Primary adjustment occurs when

> an individual cooperatively contributes required activity to an organization and under required conditions he is transformed into a cooperator; he becomes the 'normal,' 'programmed,' or built-in member. He gives and gets in an appropriate spirit what has been systematically planned for, whether this entails much or little of himself. (Goffman, op. cit. pp. 188-189.)

The training at boot camp or in the Naval Recruit Training Center provides a good start on this "primary adjustment." The complex shipboard operations, however, cannot be duplicated in the training situation, and the recruit is faced with the "sudden realization of the disparity between the way a job is envisaged before beginning work and the actual work situation."

The spontaneous friendship and interest groups that grow up around the formal organization and their accompanying ritual, tradition, customs, initiation, and myth play a vital part in the sailor's adjustment to daily shipboard life.

The informal groups provide, more or less, the "regularized ways of getting around the demands of the formal organization, usually with the result of accomplishing the formal expectations in a quicker and more efficient way." For example, the informal organization of the ship bypasses the chain of command and establishes communications where the "red tape" might delay action. Transmission of information through the grapevine ("Scuttlebutt") about ship movement, new assignments, and promotions serves to increase the efficiency of the crew while it is awaiting official confirmation of rumors. The use of "jury-rigs"--the unofficial, pirated, or homemade parts--maintains the ship's machinery in full operation. Moreover, the informal organization "with its myths, traditions, rituals, customs, and especially its initiations...makes available to the new man the set of expectations it has for the 'seagoing' sailor." Adherence to rules and regulations, and an adequate performance of duties are sufficient to link a person to the Navy. Only membership in an informal organization however, makes him a member of shipboard society. The importance of the informal organization is illustrated further by the fact that when the ship is in port and the control of formal organization is temporarily suspended, the informal organization extends itself by including in its expectations the role of "liberty hound"--"the sailor who always goes ashore when the ship is in port."

Rough water at sea, the development of "sea legs," initiation rituals, standing watches, "are instrumental in clarifying for the individual the role expectations, and give him a wider understanding of the total sailor role."

The following are examples of some of the firmly established initiations:

> Go down to the paint locker and get some striped paint (or, white lampblack, numeral paint, red oil for the port running light, a bucket of steam, etc.).
>
> ....
>
> Run down to the post office, lad, and get me half a dollar's worth of sea-stamps. ("Sea stamps" are said to be necessary for letters mailed from ship to shore.)

It has been observed that such ribbing indicates a measure of acceptance into the informal organization. Initiations are held every time a sailor is promoted. The ceremony usually consists of a chase, a capture, and a subsequent dunking in the sea. In return for his recognition, the celebrant gives all his peers and superiors cigars. The promotion of the chief petty officer is more elaborate, often requiring the wearing of some clownish costume for twenty-four hours and standing such an absurd watch as "guarding the ship's fog whistle." The most impressive and complete initiation ceremony takes place at the "crossing of the line," i.e., the equator. In the course of the celebration the usual formal roles are reversed, and the men of lower ranks ridicule the physical characteristics and personal idiosyncracies of the officers. This event is talked about and is relived many times; each time reinforces the cohesion of the crew. "Such role reversals which allow subordinates to play an imitative superior role help to clarify mutual expectations."

The practice of "standing watch" serves to emphasize the sailor's responsibility for the sleeping crew members and points up the importance of the communications network of which his assignment is part.

In-group feelings are further accentuated by the use of special Navy argot. "In boot camp, there was some tolerance for the slip of a civilian term. On board ship, however, such mistakes are met with stares of chagrin and disgust." The daily conversation among crew members usually centers around daring and/or humorous events of the past.

Secondary Adjustment: It seems that there are two levels of informal organization: first, tradition and customs encouraged by the formal organization (i.e. primary adjustment), second, adjustments which are discouraged by the formal rules (i.e. secondary adjustments). "By the latter, the sailor appears to maintain some of the autonomy that he had as a civilian."

Modes of secondary adjustment are the special "deals" and "arrangements" made "through personal friendship or by means of a very basic barter system of goods and services." For example, the cook supplies freshly ground coffee to sailors manning the ship of electrical supplies in return for parts needed for his personal radio.

The widespread "appropriating" of various types of Navy property for personal use is legitimated by the informal organization, and their acquisition is regarded as a gratuity or a tip due to one by virtue of his faithful service.

The acquisition of tattoos--strongly advised against by the formal organization--and minor modifications made on the regulation uniform are other examples of secondary adjustment.

Fads that amount almost to withdrawal from activities are also methods of secondary adjustment; verbal puzzle crazes, crossword puzzle crazes, and the extensive use of plug-in transistor radios are examples.

Most sailors, especially those with relatively short service time in the Navy, engage in some type of secondary adjustment.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is useful in counseling individuals about a military career. Shipboard duty in the Navy represents an extreme case of a "total institution," but the other branches of service offer isolation almost as great. The type of adjustment required of these individuals is extreme in comparison with the usual demands of daily living, and some preparatory counseling with those individuals about to enter the service for whom adjustment to service life may be difficult may help them to cope with the strain. This objective account of institutional life may be of use in understanding the pressures to which they will be subjected.

This study is also important in counseling with individuals who have retired from the Navy or other branches of the service after many years in the service. It is important for the counselor to understand their adjustment problems in moving from a "total institution" to the freer but in many cases less supporting social environment in civilian life.

Since a good "primary adjustment" is not possible for all individuals, the counselor may discuss constructive methods of "secondary adjustment" with individuals who seem to lack the capacity for good "primary adjustment." If this is not done, either destructive forms of "secondary adjustment" or a neuropsychiatric breakdown can occur.

This report is also useful in understanding mechanisms operating in less extreme "total institutions" such as college dormitories, fraternities, etc. Those counselors charged with administrative or supervisory responsibilities of these institutions will benefit from an understanding of some of the institutional characteristics described in this report.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The Naval vessel at sea is described as a total institution of the type that justifies itself on instrumental grounds. The structure and function of the formal and informal shipboard organizations, and the expectations therein of the role of the sailor, are discussed. Special attention is given to the processes by which the individual is assimilated into the shipboard society, and to his behavioral modifications of the expected role."

Methodology:

"Data ... were drawn from interviews, relevant documents and publications, and from field notes collected by the writer during four years of active duty as an enlisted man in the United States Navy."

Cautions:

This article reflects for the most part the author's personal observations.

Theoretical Orientation:

Erving Goffman's concept of "total institutions" provides the theoretical frame of reference within which life aboard a ship at sea and the role behavior of a sailor is described.

The concept of "total institutions" refers to a place " of residence and work where a large number of like-situated individuals, cut off from the wider society for an appropriate period of time, together lead an enclosed, formally administered round of life." (Erving Goffman, Asylums, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1961, p.xiii.) The ship is an example of such a total institution.

JANITOR (any ind.) I **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 382.884

Gold, Ray. "Janitors versus Tenants: A Status-Income Dilemma," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII, No. 5 (March, 1952), pp. 486-493.

Description:

Status and Income: With the unionization of Chicago janitors, wages were raised to a point which exceeded those of some tenants. Duties were likewise delimited. Janitors were able to purchase status symbols such as TV sets and new cars which some lower-income tenants were not able to do. On the other hand, because janitors have extremely low status duties as part of their jobs--such as removing the garbage--they are viewed as being of low status by many tenants. In addition, many people hold this stereotyped view of the characteristics of the janitor: (1) Many janitors are foreign-born and, therefore, strange and suspicious. (2) The janitor is always seen wearing dirty clothes, so the tenants seem to feel that he habitually disregards cleanliness. (3) The janitor lives in the basement, which symbolizes his low status. (5) The janitor removes the tenants' garbage.

In addition to the fact that he receives higher wages than some of his tenants, the janitor sees his job as having these status granting features: (1) He is his own boss (no direct supervision). (2) He is in charge of the building and responsible for the safety of tenants. (3) He perceives his handy-man role as that of master mechanic.

The janitor places tenants in one of two categories. There are the "good" tenants and there are the "bad" tenants. The "good" tenants are those who do not attempt to downgrade his status. Usually, these are tenants of higher income whose own status is not threatened by that of the janitor. "Bad" tenants are those who do attempt to downgrade the janitor's status. Usually, they are individuals having an income lower than that of the janitor, whose status is threatened by the janitor's new car and other material possessions which signify status.

Professional Behavior and Professional Attitudes:

In relationships with tenants, janitors develop codes of behavior very similar to those developed by the professions.

1. The janitor acquires a great deal of intimate information about the tenants. He needs to exercise judgment in knowing what information to reveal and to whom. At times, he is under pressure from police and other investigators to reveal information.

2. He develops a code of ethics in respect to amorous advances of tenants which is similar to that of physicians in relation to their patients.

3. He develops a code of ethics in respect to charges to tenants for special services. He makes judgments as to tenants' ability to pay, as does the physician in respect to his patients.

The Dilemma:

Because of the mixture of high and low status characteristics in his occupation, the janitor feels uncomfortable about the low status accorded to his occupation by the public. Although he may accept the general, public definition of janitor, he regards himself as above this as an individual. His perception of his status is not compatible with that of many of his tenants who wish to relegate him to a lower status. He wishes to view himself as a middle-class individual even though one of the duties of his job--the collection of garbage--is strongly disavowed as a middle-class activity.

Implications for Counseling:

In vocational counseling, both the present status and the status aspired to by the client, his family, and significant others must be considered in respect to the choice of, or continuation in, the job of janitor. If there are status discrepancies, does the client have the ego strength to tolerate two definitions of his status--his own and the tenants'?

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The apartment-house janitor and a large group of his tenants are each in one of two possible situations of status-income dilemma. The middle class tenants, whose incomes are below the janitor's, feel embittered toward him because his income permits him to obtain the costly status symbols they desire. The janitor resents being treated by them as their social inferior. He cites his substantial income, his professional behavior and attitudes, and his honorable self-conceptions as the bases of his unrecognized claim to middle-class status. However, the persistency of his lowly reputation and the necessity to perform dirty work for the tenants block his upward mobility."

Methodology:

"Thirty-seven janitors were interviewed by the author during the fall of 1949 and winter of 1949-50. The interviews were open-ended, averaging about 2-1/2 hours in length. A verbatim record of the interview proceedings was kept."

Cautions:

Note that this study is based on a very small sample in only one major city and that higher wages won by unionization may have altered the situation significantly.

Theoretical Orientation:

"There is some kind of status relationship between the worker and the person served in almost any occupation where the two meet and interact." A tentative status designation helps each to know how to act toward the other. "If they are separated by wide barriers of social distance, they may carry on an almost formal... relationship for years." "Or their respective status judgments may be such that the status barriers are gradually penetrated. In any case, the status relationship between them is always present, unless it is resolved into an absolute equalitarian relationship."

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 600 - 639

Chinoy, Ely, "The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVII, No. 5 (March, 1952), pp. 453-469.

Partial summary of a larger investigation supported by the Social Science Research Council and published as a book entitled: Automobile Workers and the American Dream. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955.

Description:

The data clearly shows that automobile workers are realistic in their appraisal of the opportunities available to them. They confine their aims to those limited choices which seem possible for men with their skills and resources.

(a) Most workers can see for themselves in the factory a series of small gains; for example, they foresee a transfer to a job that pays a few cents more per hour, or to one that is easier, steadier, or more interesting.

(b) They shift their attention toward security, on the one hand, and toward the acquisition of material possessions, on the other, identifying both as "getting ahead."

(c) Although the automobile workers can see little hope for personal advancement in the present, they still maintain their identification with the tradition of opportunity by focusing their aspirations upon their children's future, a practice strongly encouraged by the culture.

(d) The workers seek to maintain the illusion that they themselves are still striving by constantly talking about their intention to leave the shop. They admit, however, when pressed, that they would probably never do so.

Opportunity for upward social mobility in the automobile factory:

(a) Limited, both for skilled and unskilled workers.

(b) Where it may exist, it is for the younger men, with substantial educational qualifications, and

(c) It often requires union sanction.

Implications for Counseling:

Skilled and semi-skilled work in the automobile factory may best suit the worker with limited aspiration. The traditional imperatives for success--hard work and inventiveness, 'character' and 'personality'--play an insignificant role in the context of carefully timed and organized jobs. The cultural pressure that one must get ahead in life, and for which opportunities are limited in the factory, nevertheless finds expression in daily conversation on the job. The endless discussion, though unrelated in most cases to feasible plans or substantial hopes, serves an important psychological function. The talk and daydreams they generate soften the harsh reality.

Scope: Occupational Field

Author's Abstract:

"Industrial workers face a patent disparity between the promises of the tradition of opportunity and the realities of their own experience. Caught between tradition and reality, the automobile workers who were studied confine their aspirations to those limited alternatives which seem possible for men with their skills and resources. They have not surrendered their identification with the tradition of opportunity, however, and they reconcile their limited aspirations with the cultural imperative to aim high and persevere by redefining 'getting ahead,' by focusing their ambitions on their children, and by verbally retaining the illusion of small business ambitions."

Methodology:

"...the data was secured in seventy-eight prolonged interviews with sixty-two men employed in one large automobile plant"during a period of fourteen months, from August, 1946, to July, 1947, plus the summer months of 1948. The interviews were confined to white workers, ranging in age from twenty to sixty-three. The data was supplemented by several weeks of work in the factory by the investigator, by reports from informants, and by hours of casual conversation and informal social participation with men from the plant.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this report should be made with caution since it presents information about conditions that existed in one particular assembly line setting at a particular time. The sample of automobile workers interviewed was quite small.

Theoretical Orientation:

"The United States is widely pictured as the 'land of promise,' where golden opportunities beckon to everyone, without regard to his original station in life." The tradition of opportunity, however, has now become a consciously manipulated dream which relates only partially to the changing conditions of American life. "In the era of big business, with its heavy capital requirements for independent enterprise and its demands for specialized managerial and technical skills in industry, the factory workers...are severely handicapped." Industrial workers, therefore, face in their occupational lives a disparity between the traditional beliefs of the culture and the realities of their own experience.

AUTOMOBILE WORKER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 600 639

Faunce, W. A. "Automation and the Automobile Worker," Social Problems. Vol. VI (Summer, 1958), pp. 68-78.

Description:

The research reported here is concerned with the adjustment problems of those automobile factory workers who are still working but have experienced changes in their job resulting from the introduction of automated machinery.

I. Changes relating to job content and working conditions:

1. One of the most important changes, in general, was the reduction in the amount of materials handling. A majority of the workers indicated that materials handling, in most cases, consisted of feeding small parts into the loader. This is a contrast to former routine when, in many instances, it was necessary to handle crankshafts, cylinder blocks, or other similar heavy equipment.

2. A second important change reported in jobs on automated lines was that the workers no longer had any control over the work pace since they no longer actually operated the machines. In the old plants, they controlled the machine process by pulling a lever or some other device to regulate the pace of work. This enabled them to vary the work pace in such a manner as to work ahead, take a break, and still achieve the prescribed production quotas.

3. A third change reported in job content on automated lines was in the amount of attention required by the job. Many jobs in the old, non-automated plant were reduced to a series of repetitive manual operations which required only a minimum of mental attention. In contrast, in the new automated plant, the jobs required more or less constant attention to gauges or panels of light throughout the day, or as long as the machines were in operation.

   Consequences of non-attention in such circumstances were more serious A breakdown of a transfer machine often resulted in a confluence of superintendents, general foremen, and other "blue collar with a tie" workers; from the workers' point of view, a consequence to be assiduously avoided.

4. A fourth type of change in the job of the machine operator on automated jobs involved the amount and type of skill required on the job. In the opinion of management, no new or greater skills were required of the machine operators in the automated plant. Accordingly, no training programs were set up. The workers generally agreed with this, although some of them felt that their automated jobs required more skills because of the change in the type of skills involved. A general assessment of the data suggested that somewhat different, but probably no greater, skills were required of machine operators when similar or identical job classifications were compared.

5. Another instance of change suggested by the research data was the increase in the amount of responsibility on the job. The majority of the workers felt that their jobs involved more responsibility than their previous non-automated jobs, and that their present automated jobs were more important.

6. Finally, there was probably a difference in the amount of fatigue resulting from the two types of jobs, the automated and the non-automated. The workers' response on this topic failed to distinguish clearly between fatigue resulting from the amount of attention required and fatigue resulting from physical effort. If this distinction had been more clearly made, a great proportion of the workers probably would have reported the non-automated jobs to be physically more tiring.

While working conditions, in general, were believed to be cleaner, safer, quieter, and more pleasant in an automated plant, the data from this particular research did not support this belief.

II. Changes in the social milieu of the worker on the automated line:

The following effects of automation upon patterns of social interaction were noted:

1. There was a decrease in the opportunity for social interaction among the workers.

2. The interaction that occurred took place within smaller groups of workers.

3. There was less identification with a particular work group.

4. The workers experienced closer and more frequent supervision, and a change in the established informal patterns of worker-foreman relationship to increased formality with more use by the foreman of the authority vested in his role.

III. Factors affecting the workers' attitude toward work on the automated line:

1. Workers' satisfaction with the job was found to be directly related to the amount of social interaction open to them on the job.

2. The data from the study suggested that the type of supervision was a factor in work satisfaction on the automated line. A significantly large proportion of the workers who preferred their old non-automated jobs reported that it was easier to get along with the foremen on that job.

IV. Sources of worker dissatisfaction on the automated line:

1. One apparent source of dissatisfaction observed may be called "alienation"; i.e., the worker is alienated in the sense that "he no longer has control over the machine and the work pace, machining skills previously acquired are no longer of use, and it becomes increasingly difficult for the worker to identify what the transfer machine does as his work."

2. Another source of job dissatisfaction on the automated line was the feeling of tension or anxiety reported by some workers. The increased tensions were apparently caused by a combination of factors involving the increased speed of production, the constant attention required, the cost of mistakes, and the frequency of breakdown of automated machinery.

V. Sources of worker satisfaction on the automated line:

Only one factor stood out as a reason given for satisfaction with automated jobs. This factor was the decrease in the amount of materials handling involved in the new automated plant. Also, significantly more of the workers who preferred automated jobs reported that non-automated jobs were more physically tiring.

The data from this study suggests that the traditionally high-status jobs in industry---i.e., non-production jobs like repairman which involve more skill and less physical effort---are also high-status jobs in the automated plant. The only new high-status job which appeared in the new plant was the job of "consol operator," which involved no more physical effort than is required to stand and watch a panel of lights for eight hours. The traditional pattern of status relationships was not altered appreciably. There was some evidence of an "upgrading" of the whole system, with most jobs in the automated plant being regarded as having more prestige than jobs in the older plants which used the conventional machining techniques.

Further evidence of this nature was suggested by the fact that Negroes, irrespective of their geographical origin, were significantly more satisfied with the automated jobs than were white workers. A significantly high proportion of reasons given by this group for this preference mentioned the decreased need for materials handling.

Other factors indicating satisfaction concerned the complexity of machines, the increased responsibility, the importance attributed to the job.

With respect to skills, pay, and working conditions, no clear pattern of differences between automated and non-automated jobs appeared in the data to the extent to which any of these factors would be a source of work satisfaction or dissatisfaction.

The data regarding job security was of particular interest because of the widespread conviction that automation resulted in displacement of the workers. While almost 90% of the workers shared this opinion, there was little evidence in the data indicating that these workers regarded their jobs as less secure because of the change. It is probable that in industries such as the automobile industry, where both automated and non-automated plants are in operation, it is in the non-automated plants that workers feel insecurity in their jobs as a result of change.

Implications for Counseling:

Since so little empirical data is available on the actual effect of automation, this study is most welcome. For counselors who have not availed themselves of the opportunity to visit automated plants, this a must, since merely observing the physical changes helps the counselor to understand some of the dynamics in changed worker roles. Most counselors have a well-established collection of folklore information as to what goes on in the older, non-automated factory. It is important that they not bring this perception to the problems of the automated factory where it may not fit. The change from physically manipulating objects (manipulative skill) to watching gauges (sensory skill) has not been sufficiently examined, but it may call for the development of new and different psychometric instruments for the appraisal of employee competence.

As indicated in this abstract, automation seems to have changed some worker role relations. The counselor will need to update his knowledge of these to be effective in counseling with respect to role conflict problems.

Under conditions of automation, there appears to be less opportunity for dissipation of anxiety through physical movements. Counselors will need to discuss with clients planned tension-releasing devices as replacements for tension-relieving movements which were part of older work processes.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

One hundred and twenty-five workers, selected at random from the four most highly automated plants of an automobile factory in Detroit were interviewed during the period 1956-1957. All of the subjects interviewed had experience with non-automated machine operations in the older plants of the company, and had been working on automated jobs in the new plant for approximately two years at the time of the interview. The workers were asked to compare their previous non-automated job with their present job in terms of job content, working conditions, patterns of social interaction, and work satisfaction.

Theoretical Orientation:

Contrary to the orientation of social scientists to the problem of automation, which focused primarily upon the possibility of technological displacement of the worker, this research investigated the problems of individual adjustments to the changes in production techniques.

AUTOMOBILE WORKERS · ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 600-639

Guest, Robert H., "Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers," American Sociological Review, Vol. XIX, No. 2 (April, 1954), pp. 155-163.

Based on a research project at Yale University concerning the effects of mass production methods on human behavior.

Description:

The study sought to determine (1) how mass-production methods affect career patterns of assembly workers, and (2) "how the traditional culture concept of opportunity is modified by experience in this kind of technological environment...."

Findings:

(1) Careers

"The average worker with long service in the production ranks had made a substantial economic gain in taking a job on the assembly line..." The author notes, however, that this economic gain is to be viewed with caution because much of this gain was achieved collectively; that is, all workers improved themselves substantially in the period 1937 to 1952.

(2) Aspirations of production workers

Opportunity to get ahead was viewed by the workers more in terms of holding a secure job or moving on to a job which was not conveyor paced and was not as fatiguing. The workers did not look for, nor did they expect, jobs which would give them higher economic and social status within the plant. Instead, they hoped for some break which would relieve them of the anonymity and impersonality of the assembly line.

Fear of not being able to keep up the pace of work because of age appeared to be one of the factors that motivated men, especially the older men, in their desire to leave the assembly line. Factors pertaining to work, e.g., dislike of conveyor-paced operations, the individual work load, the restricted job cycle, and the repetitive character of the job, as well as lack of opportunity on the present job, also impelled men to want to leave the plant. Their inability to achieve even these short-run and immediate gains was found to be a source of frustration.

In the long-range picture, the assembly line workers verbally entertained hopes that were in line with the deeply rooted American tradition of opportunity. The most dominant themes of their future plans were: aspirations for their children, hopes for an independent business, and the immediate desire to get out of the present line of work.

Imperatives of security and a reasonably steady income outweighed the attractiveness of a job outside the plant, and thus created a dilemma for the workers. A few of them were not troubled by this dilemma. They looked to the immediate advantages they enjoyed: the high wages and security. Some resolved the dilemma by building up hopes for their children's future. Others appeared to resolve it simply by daydreaming about going into an independent business of their own, knowing well that the idea was out of reach. For the majority of workers, however, the dilemma was a persistent source of dissatisfaction.

Implications for Counseling:

Monotony of work on the assembly line, impersonality and anonymity of the worker, are frequent sources of dissatisfaction among automobile production line workers. The younger workers tend to approach their job future with more expectation of vertical mobility. The older workers, on the other hand, want jobs which they can handle as they grow older, and which will give them more individual control over work pace.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

"The data is derived from personal interviews in the homes of 202 hourly production workers employed for at least twelve years in an automobile final assembly plant...." Additional information was gathered from extended interviews with management and union officers, and from personnel records.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this report should be made with caution since it presents information about conditions that existed in one particular assembly line setting at a particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

The assumption is made that modern mass production methods affect the career patterns of production workers, and that length of experience in this kind of mass-production environment modifies the workers' aspirations.

ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 600-639

Pope, Hallowell, "Economic Deprivation and Social Participation in a Group of 'Middle Class' Factory Workers," Social Problems, Vol. XI, No. 3 (Winter, 1964), pp. 290-300.

Based on the author's unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, "Economic Deprivation and Social Integration in a Group of 'Middle Class' Factory Workers," University of Michigan, 1963.

Description:

The study examined the frequency and recency of social contacts with:

(a) voluntary associations, other than church and union
(b) kin, i.e., relatives
(c) non-kin, i.e., friends
(d) labor union
(e) church

Findings:

(a) Voluntary associations contact: Cumulative economic deprivation (i.e., unemployment) appeared to restrict the better educated, higher-income, and younger workers. In the total sample, however, the effect of cumulative economic deprivation was negative. Relation between unemployment and participation in voluntary associations disappeared among the poorer educated and lower-income workers.

(b) Kin contact: Economic deprivation had no effect on contact with relatives and/or kin in the total sample. There appeared a slight decline in the frequency of contact with relatives for those workers who lived in Detroit during their teens and presumably had the most kin available for easy visiting.

(c) Non-kin contact: There is no relation between economic deprivation and recency of non-kin contact, either in the total sample or in any sub-group. The evidence thus far indicates that the deprived and presumably "shamed" worker can find new friends after regaining employment. This may not be the case in his contact with relatives, where the results of this study indicate that restriction of contact was a permanent accompaniment of economic deprivation--persisting far beyond the episodes of layoffs.

(d) Labor union contact: In the total sample, there appeared a weak tendency for the deprived worker to participate less in the union than the non-deprived worker. The better-educated, higher-income workers showed a much stronger reduction in participation with economic deprivation. Overall, there was no relation between deprivation and workers' interest in the company labor unions.

(e) Church contact: Church attendance was unaffected by past unemployment.

Implications for Counseling:

Results of this study may be general in the sense that the lower-income, poorly educated workers tend to have less social contacts than higher-income, better educated workers.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

One hundred and forty-seven upper blue and lower white collar workers from the machining and assembling part or on the office staff of the "Declino Auto Parts Company," located in central Detroit, were selected as sample from a population of approximately six hundred workers. Purposive sampling procedures were used. Data was gathered by interviews.

Cautions:

Sample for this study experienced working conditions which, in spite of periods of unemployment or layoff, fostered feelings of job and economic security and of social continuity. The group was unique in the sense that the workers had no contact with radical organizations, had alternative sources of income available when they were jobless, and the majority of them were upwardly mobile and have been able to attain middle-level incomes. All findings were results of statistical manipulation.

Theoretical Setting:

"A stable job gives the worker's life continuity, social as well as psychological. Job-based friends are made and maintained; work-based organizations, such as labor unions, are joined" and can lead to other formal and informal social contacts. Investigations conducted during the Depression years provided ample evidence that unemployment or temporary layoffs resulted, as a short-time effect, in reduced social participation, both formal and informal. The assumption is made on these bases that recurrent periods of unemployment during one's working life affect an important source of social contact, destroy the worker's desire to increase his range of contacts and, at the same time, hamper his ability to engage others successfully in social intercourse.

Walker, Charles R., and Guest, Robert H. The Man on the Assembly Line. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. 180pp.

Based on a pilot study conducted by the Institute of Human Relations at Columbia University.

Description:

The study herein described sheds new light on the controversial question of the influence of paced and repetitive work on the satisfactions that men derive from their work.

Findings:

A. Impact of mass production characteristics on the individual worker:

The great majority of the workers expressed, in varying degree, a dislike of such mass-production characteristics as mechanical pacing, repetitiveness, etc.

The economic aspects of the job--pay and security--were rated favorably by the workers. Relations with superiors and working conditions at the particular assembly line studied were also commented on favorably.

With regard to promotion and transfer, a very large number of workers aspired to other jobs. The basic motivation for wanting promotion or transfer was rarely more money, or prestige, or advancement; rather, as revealed by comments, it was the desire to escape a paced, repetitive, or otherwise unpleasant job.

The analysis of the findings pointed to three major characteristics of assembly-line work that are the most likely causes of workers' dissatisfaction:

1. Minimum skill: The evidence indicated that no adequate method of classifying and evaluating skill was used in the plant studied. The general public and even some members of management tended to depreciate the amount and variety of skills required on the job. The unfortunate social and psychological effect of this was that workers tended to devaluate themselves and showed symptoms of inferiority when talking about the skills involved in their jobs.

2. Predetermined work sequence: All mass-production jobs in modern industry, but especially the jobs on the automobile assembly line, were strictly predetermined as to tools and techniques. Many workers indicated that they would have liked some freedom in planning their work, and in the use of tools.

3. Shift in mental demands: The mental demands of a majority of automobile assembly jobs were for "surface attention." Workers give a high degree of attention to their work, they cannot daydream, yet the work did not absorb their mental faculties to any great extent. This kind of intermediate category--between the automatic "do-it-without-thinking" job and the mentally absorbing job--was the type most conducive to boredom.

B. Impact of mass-production characteristics on social structure:

Mass-production technology and its methods affected the following main aspects of social organization in the factory: the size and function of work groups; the quality and quantity of interaction possible among workers; the relations between supervisor and worker, and the kind of informal social interaction between them; the wage structure; and, lastly, the system of promotion and transfer.

1. Characteristics of the work group: The automobile assembly process, as organized in the factory studied, established a loose work group whose members were related to each other through proximity and not through mutual assistance. It also created a few isolated workers who enjoyed no social interaction during their working hours, as well as a few groups whose members were closely knit in a true team relationship.

   The conveyor-belt technology, most commonly, permitted a loose work group of five or six operators to make brief remarks to one another during the working day. Ability to interact was influenced by factors such as noise, speed of the assembly line, and the amount of physical energy demanded.

2. Supervisor and worker relationships: Technology seemed to be the basic factor which determined the frequency of worker-supervisor interaction. Production process in steel making required frequent contact between workers and everyone up to and including department superintendents. Supervisors in the auto assembly division, on the other hand, except at the section level, were able to carry out their duties impersonally and with little or no contact with the workers.

3. Wage structure and promotion: While minute differences among jobs were of great importance to the mind and muscles of the individual worker day by day, the jobs were much the same from the management's point of view. This view was reflected in the narrow spread between the highest and lowest paid jobs. The union supported the wage-scale pattern set forth by the management. The tendency toward standardizing and simplifying jobs, with the accompanying narrow wage differential, resulted in a peculiar promotion system that was characteristic of the auto assembly plants of the country. This was a system with a very short progression ladder. The production worker was on a floor or a gently sloping ramp rather than a ladder, in terms of promotion. Hence, when one thought about promotion, "he must think not about regular job progression up the visible and recognized steps of a job ladder, but rather getting onto the next floor by becoming a foreman or a utilityman, for example, or also of moving laterally into another department altogether to become a maintenance man or a stock clerk."

Implications for Counseling:

Although assembly line operations are being automated, the number of assembly line workers is still large. The basic conflict requiring counseling help arises from the fact that assembly line work, because it is carried on in large, unionized establishments, frequently has a high rate of pay, considering the educational and skill level involved. The worker is then faced with the dilemma of whether to leave a well paying but frustrating job for one which is more interesting, has a better future, but pays less. The problem is compounded for individuals with dependents.

The counselor's skill in helping the client appropriately appraise this dilemma and reach a decision is most important. The findings of this study add a greater objectivity to the subjective perceptions of these problems which any counselor, experienced in work with this type of client, has already gained.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

During the summer of 1949, a representative sample of 180 workers, employed on one of the most modern automobile assembly lines in the world, were interviewed, in their homes, with a schedule designed to bring out facts, attitudes, and opinions about their jobs, their relations to fellow workers and supervisors, working conditions and promotions, and relations to the union.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of the study should be made with caution since the findings reflected conditions that existed in one particular setting at a particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

The industrial revolution--giant machines and the methods of organizing men around them--has created a new environment for modern man. One of the problems that has resulted from this "revolution" is that of man's adjustment from the old to the new surroundings. The question arose as to what degree men can or should be adjusted to the new environment of machines, and to what degree it is possible to adjust or rebuild that environment to fit the needs and personalities of men. The problem is viewed in the light of Elton Mayo's teaching that "man's attitude toward his immediate tasks, his supervisors, his union, and the company, are all measurably affected by the way in which he accepts, or is accepted by, the immediate group with which he works....if he is not integrated into a work group, his interest in his work, which is often reflected in productivity, will be low."

OCCUPATIONS IN MANUFACTURE OF TEXTILES, N.E.C. (Carpet Manufacture)

D.O.T. Code: 680-689

ABSTRACT

Lalli, Michael. "Industrial Relocation of Displaced Male Factory Workers; Some Sociological Implications." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1958.*

Description:

This study investigated the displacement and relocation of the workers upon the closing of the Lee Carpet Company plant in Bridgeport, Pennsylvania. The research was particularly concerned "with the social resources of working men and the relative importance of these resources in making an economic adjustment to sudden job loss."

On November 16, 1954, the James Lee & Sons Company, a wool carpet manufacturer, announced the closing of its yarn spinning plant in Bridgeport, Pennsylvania. The cut back in operations and the decentralization program were due to marketing and fashion changes, obsolescence in the plant and equipment, and to the increasing wage rates in the Bridgeport-Norristown area. The Lee Company was already operating several plants in the South where the labor supply and wage rates were more favorable than in the North.

About 700 workers were affected by this decision. In its closing statement, Lee's announced that a liberal separation pay would be given to all employees affected by the change and that those eligible for retirement would be given their customary benefits. In addition, a special department was to be set up in Bridgeport to assist the workers in finding other employment. The closing of the plant, while a shock to some workers, was anticipated with the general decline of textile work in the area.

At the time of the shutdown, the Philadelphia labor market, which included Bridgeport, had an unemployment rate of approximately 6.0 to 8.9% in the first half of 1955. In the second half of the year, the figure dropped to approximately 3.0 to 5.9% of the total labor force. There were many diversified industries in the area competing with one another for the labor supply.

The Resources Used in Finding New Jobs: From the 199 workers answering the question concerning the sources used in obtaining employment, 82 workers indicated that they got their new jobs through such formal channels as job applications, 34 men utilized the contacts provided by management, and another 12 used the services of the local state employment office. The astonishingly few number of workers using the services of the local state employment office, even if the figure is an underestimate, "points to the serious need for future studies of the function and efficiency of these agencies."

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*This dissertation was abstracted selectively.

Social resources, i.e., friends and relatives, were found not to be significant in providing direct help in this situation of economic stress. Only seven per cent of the respondents reported that relatives helped them in getting new jobs. It seemed that the utilization of social resources depended upon the respondents' age and ethnic background.

Workers with Italian and Central European backgrounds tended to depend on help coming from relatives and friends somewhat more than native-born workers did. Those under forty years of age depended upon job applications more than native-born workers did. The older workers and those in the process of assimilation probably depended a bit more on friends and relatives for help in finding a job.

In general, men with more relatives and friends lost less time from work than the men with limited social contacts. Married men with dependents found jobs more easily than the single ones.

New Jobs Compared to the Old Jobs: Workers were asked to compare their new jobs with their old jobs at Lee's. Men below forty years of age gave generally favorable responses to questions regarding wages, foremen, friendliness, physical conditions, and type of work on the new job as compared with the old. Nearly half of the respondents reported better wages. The data suggested that "friendly co-workers are easy enough to find even for men who have involuntarily entered the labor market after being attached to a job for most of their working lives." Displaced workers maintained or improved their job status, with the younger workers doing generally better than the older workers.

Industrial Relocation: Relocation opportunities were varied. Some industries gave preference to age while others discriminated against the foreign-born. Generally, the following picture emerged.

Older workers remained in the textile industry. Primary metals and rubber industries showed a preference for hiring the younger, displaced workers. The fibre industry was willing to employ the older and the foreign-born men. The electrical industry showed no preference as to the age of the worker. Both the electrical and the rubber industries hired no foreign-born worker. On the whole, however, ethnic differentiation did not appear to be significant.

Labor-Management Conflict: The shutdown of the Lee plant reinforced the traditional view held by the working class: the employer cannot be trusted because his motivations are aimed solely at making a profit. Although the severance pay mitigated some of the bitterness among the workers, the feeling that social justice had been violated was still expressed by some. One worker defined the problem in this way: "Closing down...was to my estimation pretty rotten. I'm still young, but just think of all those elderly people which had so much service." Another worker voiced just this dissatisfaction in his comments: "Instead of 16 years of seniority in the factory, I have only half a year now. Can you call that justice?"

There was no organized protest on the part of the workers. They were not union members. From the local press and radio, the event received only casual attention. The workers were in no position to argue against the management's decision. They could have been easily replaced by a new mechanical device or by new recruits from the same labor market, or the plant could have been moved to a new location. Had the workers been unionized, they might have exerted some power in this case, but the management still would have had more power to influence the occupational structure of the labor market locally.

Job Status Gains and Losses: The loss of seniority which especially affected the older workers had both its tangible and intangible effects. The workers with seniority were less likely to be temporarily laid off. Because they were "old timers," they were accorded a certain amount of prestige. Both the security against lay offs and the prestige were lost when they were forced to take other jobs. Often, fringe benefits were also lost. One worker, for example, reported that "where I am now employed there are no paid holidays, hospital insurance or pension plans." Others lost conveniences that their old jobs had provided. Some workers missed the chance they formerly had had to speak about the "old days" with fellow workers. One employee stated: "I liked Lee's because I was near home and I could walk to work and I knew all the men all my life that I worked with." Still other men were bitter and demoralized.

Some men felt that they had benefited from the forced move. Comments like these expressed such feelings: "I must say that Lee's did me a favor by closing down--I am lucky to have gotten a (new) job in such a wonderful place." "I took up carpentry after leaving Lee's and am doing one hundred percent better now."

Many of the workers stated that they were getting better wages than they had at their old jobs. Frequently, they had had no idea of how much money they would get on new jobs since they were unaware of the going rate of wages in the locality. Thus, "the wages these workers received must be regarded as a result more of industrial bidding for labor than choices made by workers who shopped around for jobs."

Job Attachment: The data indicated that workers' attachment to the community, in most instances, was stronger than any they had to an industry or a trade, especially since other good jobs were available in the locale. Those workers who took employment in the textile industry had to travel a considerable distance--a sacrifice that most workers were reluctant to make.

An assessment of the findings of this study revealed a need for labor economists to reappraise the influence of wage differentials upon labor mobility. "When the skills or lack of them are about the same, inter-industry labor mobility may depend not only on wages and job opportunities but on age, nationality and other social factors as number of friends, relatives and dependents."

Implications for Counseling:

One of the typical counseling problems in vocational counseling with adults is helping them to cope with the crisis of being laid off from a firm for which they have worked for a long while and in which they felt they had tenure. The extreme case in this respect is represented by lay offs from civil service positions.

Not only does the worker have to cope with the tangible problem of finding another job, he also has to cope with the emotional implications of the job loss. One of these is concern about finding a job that provides status on the same level as the previous job; another is to master the anxiety about having been separated from a work situation which had been perceived as secure.

If the decision was unplanned (for example, bankruptcy of the company), the worker has feelings of insecurity. If the decision was planned (for example, the plant moved to another community), the worker has to cope with strong feelings of bitterness and betrayal in addition to his insecurity. Either set of negative feelings may interfere with the worker's motivation and decision-making in the tasks of job hunting and selection.

Although counselors are familiar with these problems from their case experience, it is useful to see the problem in terms of occupational outcomes for the total group of displaced workers from one relocated plant. It would have been helpful to have had a more detailed report on the experiences of the workers who were unable to find new employment.

The report indicates that some workers were paid more on the new jobs they secured after having been laid off than they had been paid on their jobs at the carpet company. It also mentions that the workers frequently did not know how much they would receive on their new jobs. Both statements point to the deficiency of the "economic man" theory of worker motivation. If the workers had been following the "economic man" model, they would have left the carpet company before the lay off to have taken higher paying jobs in the community.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Sources of data for this study were: the company's personnel records, replies to a mailed questionnaire, and personal interviews with a number of workers and management representatives. Supplementary material was obtained from the local state employment office and the Montgomery County Manufacturers' Association. The study was conducted from late 1955 through the spring of 1956.

From the population of 524 working men, 285 questionnaire responses were returned. These responses were then classified as to age and ethnic background. Of the 285, there were 119 workers under 40 years of age and 166 workers over 40. Forty percent of the sample were Italians; 29 percent claimed Central European ancestry; and 31 percent were Americans.

Cautions:

Findings of this study are applicable only to the given locality at the time of the study.

Theoretical Orientation:

The author's particular orientation in this study was based on a theory that has been formulated by Allison Davis and others. "The average working class family is a large economic unit, a class of kin. They can depend upon each other for shelter and food in time of unemployment or of reduced income, or of prolonged absenteeism or when they simply quit a job."

HOSIERY LOOPER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 689.782

Huganir, George H., Jr. "The Hosiery Looper in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Family Occupational Processes and Adaptation to Factory and Community Change." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1958.*

Description:

This doctoral dissertation examined the work-life histories of thirty female hosiery loopers in the context of socio-cultural changes which took place during the period 1900-1950. Foci of interest were the changing family roles and values held by the Italian ethnic group who comprised the labor force of the mill, the mill neighborhood, the mill's position as an employment center over a period of time, changes in production methods and personnel, and changes in the organizational structure of the enterprise.

The Hosiery Loopers:

The group of hosiery loopers enjoyed a particularly favored status among employees in the hosiery mill. They performed the only hand-made operation in the manufacture of men's and children's socks. The work itself consisted of hanging the loops of the knitted socks over a machine--one by one--and then drawing the thread through the loops, thereby finishing the toe. This work required better than average finger dexterity and good eyesight to observe the constant opening and closing of the machine. The technology of the work did not change significantly over the fifty-year period. Perhaps the only important difference by mid-century was the increasing demand for the use of finer yarns, including synthetics, in the manufacture of socks. This, in turn, put a premium on the skills of the younger hosiery looper.

The nature of the work gave it the reputation of being "nerve-wracking." It was commonly held that one must learn the trade while young, preferably during adolescence. It was regarded as a female occupation because males were believed not to be patient enough to do this type of work. The loopers were described as "individualistic" and "hard to handle." The resistance of young females entering into this occupation at the time of this study (the early 1950's) served to increase the bargaining power of the older workers. Management recognized the unique qualities of the loopers. It permitted them, for instance, to do the work at home if the family situation required the worker's presence there. If the looper was absent, no one else used her machine or did her customary work even though the rest of the production depended upon her part and skill in the process.

A hierarchy of rank which was based on the worker's ability to see fine thread existed among the loopers. The finest work received the highest pay. By tacit agreement, older workers worked on coarser yarns, and those still able to see well enough to do fine work would do it only in case of an emergency.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

In comparison to other types of occupational groups in the hosiery mill, the loopers were a homogeneous group, sharing similar ethnic, family, and neighborhood backgrounds. In the 1900-1910 period, young girls began their careers in this trade as "ravelers," i.e., extra help assigned to the experienced workers. These girls then had the opportunity to learn the trade informally. The interview data demonstrated that one-third of the hosiery loopers learned their trade in this manner. After World War I, however, the raveler positions were eliminated due to machine innovations.

The hosiery looper's relation to the forelady of the group was crucial. Most of the workers had long, personal relationships with her which frequently dated back to their childhoods and were reinforced by kinship ties. The forelady controlled all work assignments. She knew the personal circumstances of each worker well and assigned work according to individual needs. During the depression years, for instance, those workers whose husbands were unemployed received preferential treatment.

Work relations, in general, were influenced by family relations, and the personnel policies of the mill throughout the fifty-year period supported the role changes of the individual worker within the family. For instance, the worker would begin as a raveler in childhood and continue to work during adolescence; after marriage, she would be allowed to take time off for childbearing, and would be given preferential treatment when her eyesight began to falter. The working mothers provided models of work standards and appropriate behavior both in the home and in the factory.

Historical Changes:

The socio-economic changes which affected the family, factory, and community relations can be classified as those which occurred (1) in the early period, 1900-1925; and (2) in the late period, 1925-1950. These changes are summarized in Appendix A.

Mill Personnel: In the early period, the mill employed children and adolescents of both sexes extensively. The girls had regular work assignments. The boys had no regular assignments and worked wherever they were needed. The size of the labor force was rather large. It was a predominantly young group of workers.

During the late period, child labor disappeared as more stringent regulations governing the employment of children were put into effect. The mill continued to provide work opportunities for adolescent girls, but no comparable employment existed for boys. The labor force shrank in size and, in general, was an older work population.

The Mill's Organizational Structure: In the period 1900-1925, ownership and authority belonged to the mill owner and his two sons. Personnel relations were governed by family needs of the individual worker. Trade unions' interference with employee relations was unsuccessful. The hosiery mill was the dominant employer in the community.

During the period 1925-1950, important changes took place in the mill's organizational structure. Ownership was transferred to heirs of the founder, then to banks and to credit organizations. Authority was exercised by management and staff. Following the depression years, union movements became more aggressive. After organizing the woolen and worsted industries in the area, they penetrated the hosiery mill's work force. Changes brought about by unionization mostly concerned general labor conditions; working hours were reduced, no work was done during the lunch period, flexible pay rates were instituted, and formal supervisor-foreman relationships were established.

The hosiery loopers were indifferent toward the union. The group felt that it could take care of itself. Although the union agreement contained special clauses which allowed for changes in the work role to accommodate family needs of the hosiery loopers, they were of little importance in the opinion of the workers. Such matters were worked out according to long-standing tradition and precedent by the group itself.

As new factories were established for the production of iron, steel, tubing, beer, macaroni, and fibre products, the status of the hosiery mill as a dominant employer in the community declined.

Mill Production Processes and Technology: In the early period, much of the knitting was done on non-automated machinery. Auxiliary workers, frequently young boys, carried the semi-finished work from one production station to the next. Styles of socks were standardized and were made from a limited number of yarn types. The mill's dye house was active in producing the various colors used in the men's and children's socks. Goods were produced all year around, and the unsold portion was stockpiled for later sales.

In the late period, technology and production process changed considerably. After World War I, new marketing methods, new divisions of labor, new financial practices, new shipping methods, and bureaucratic organizational patterns emerged. Automated production methods were introduced in the knitting and boarding operations. Conveyor belts and chutes facilitated the flow of work from one production station to the next. Customer demands were for many types and styles of merchandise. Goods were produced to fill standing orders only. The variety of styles in socks required the use of numerous types of yarns, including synthetics and "ingrains" (dyed yarn). Most of the yarns used in the knitting operations were already in color, thus making the mill's dye house obsolete.

Technological innovations reduced the size of the labor force. Only the loopers were unaffected by the changes. The seasonality of employment brought on by "made to order" production methods worked to their advantage. Off-periods allowed the women a chance to do their house cleaning and to take care of various family matters.

In the late 1920's, females began to displace males in the hosiery mill with increasing frequency. As a result of technological changes, some male occupations became obsolete while others expanded, requiring additional skills and different abilities. The job of the fixers, for example, evolved into the category of research and development personnel. These men not only kept the machines in good mechanical order but were increasingly called upon to make machine adaptations for the use of synthetic yarns, colors and patterns. In addition to the technical skills involved, the enlarged scope of the work called for color coordinating ability and an understanding of fashion changes. With this new category, a new relationship with management had to be developed.

Mill Neighborhood: In the early period, the mill obtained its labor supply from the neighboring Italian community. The immigrant Italian man usually found only casual employment in the nearby stone quarries or in agriculture. He did not make enough money to support his family. Thus, it became more or less a necessity for the wife to help out with family income. Her best opportunity was in the nearby mill. It was within walking distance from her home, and many other women with similar family circumstances worked there. According to customs of the old world, the Italian husbands frowned upon their wives working outside the home, especially if other men were to be part of the work group or were to be in charge of supervision. But in the hosiery mill, conditions were different. A group of women, sharing similar ethnic and family circumstances, was supervised by another woman who sometimes was related to the workers. The husbands approved of their wives working in such a setting, and so hosiery looping became an accepted trade of the women.

In the beginning of the century, several generations of the same family lived together. The children were regarded as economic assets and their early work in the factories was encouraged, especially since public educational facilities were limited. Part of the children's earnings was kept in a family savings fund and was given to them at marriage like a dowry. The remainder contributed to the family support. The children had little control over their occupational choice. It was an accepted way of life that children followed the occupation of their fathers and mothers. Family and kinship traditions supported the authority of the parents in all matters. Due to the fact that they lived in a particular geographical sector of the community, the Italian immigrant families were insulated from the disrupting cultural influences of the surrounding neighborhood in the early period. Textile mills were abundant in the immediate locality and they eagerly accepted the Italian women into their labor forces. In the community, most of the women who worked were employed in factories and in other similar blue-collar occupations.

In the late period, the traditional family pattern of the Italian ethnic group underwent changes, primarily as the result of increasing educational and work opportunities. The generations of a family living under one roof became smaller. Now a household contained only the parents and children and, on occasion, the adult, unmarried children. Until the 1930's, daughters followed their mothers or other close female relatives into the mills. Their entry into the labor force was usually at adolescence, rather than in childhood as had been customary in the beginning of the century. Legislation opposing child labor as well as public laws demanding compulsory minimum education kept the children in schools and away from the mills.

Technological changes cut down the size of the labor force in the textile mills. With the establishment of iron, steel and other factories, work opportunities for the males increased so that once again they were able to assume the "breadwinner" status. Shifts in skill requirements opened up a number of technician and white collar jobs in the community. The women from the "East End" Italian community of Norristown were first to enter into the expanding white collar labor force; the males followed them somewhat later. The data clearly revealed this sequence. The older daughter still entered into her mother's trade in the mill when she attained adolescence; her younger sister, however, stayed in school. When her turn came to find employment, she found a job as a salesgirl or office clerk. If she was employed in the mill, she worked as a packer, away from the machines and in a setting which resembled a clerical work environment. As the economy of the community became increasingly diversified, many of the textile mills closed down their operations or moved to the South. Increasing competition for labor and rising wage and salary rates were some of the causes of the decline. The census data from these years indicated that both males and females of Italian background were still in the factory labor force, but that the number of women employed in the blue collar labor force had decreased on the whole.

Conclusions:

Development of the hosiery loopers as a unique work group "represented the effect (of) a continuous pattern of mill, family and neighborhood interaction." The mill and family cooperation of the early period was possible while the textile mills were dominant. In the later period, when the economy became more diversified, and new industries became competitive employers, the mill's influence upon and authority over the neighboring family units was reduced.

Implications for Counseling:

The impact of the family and community on this occupation is in contrast to our usual thinking about occupations in which the occupation is seen as apart from other life areas. As indicated in this study, many of the personnel procedures in this occupation actually were controlled by the family, ethnic, and community structures instead of the other way around. For instance, recruitment for this occupation depended on family and ethnic background rather than the usual factors of education, aptitude, and skill.

It is well for the counselor to be aware that there are occupations in which these non-occupational vocational choice factors are dominant. Each counselor will need to develop a private list for his particular community.

Also of interest is the way in which the work group itself takes care of occupational disability; the older workers who had difficulty in seeing the finer threads had work using the coarser threads reserved for them. Under these circumstances, many of the elaborate check box systems for comparing worker physical capacity with job requirements become rather absurd.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Information for this study was gathered during the years 1952-54 in Norristown, Pennsylvania. Work-life histories were collected from thirty hosiery loopers (including sixteen "old timers" and fourteen younger workers). In addition, supervisory personnel were interviewed, and company records, census data, and other historical documents were examined. Both structured and unstructured interview methods were used.

Cautions:

Generalizations can not be made on the basis of this study since it presents information about conditions that existed in one particular setting at a particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

In this study, the "meaning of work as an activity is extended beyond the usual economic frame of reference and is interpreted as an expression of personal and social needs of the individual worker who is conceived as a product of specific social and cultural influences."

APPENDIX A

Socio-Economic Changes Affecting the Work Group in the Mill: 1900-1950

I. THE EARLY PERIOD: 1900-1925

A. Mill Personnel
1. Extensive use of children and adolescent labor.
2. Many boys employed.
3. Large number of people in labor force.
4. Young workers predominant.

B. Mill Organizational Structure
1. Concentrated type of proprietary authority.
2. Ownership and power closely held by one or two individuals.
3. No trade unions.
4. Mill is a dominant employment center in the locale.

C. Mill Production Process and Technology
1. Non-automatic machinery.
2. Stockpiling of product.
3. Work flow from station to station handled manually.
4. Product standardized.
5. Mill dye house active.
6. Use of few yarn types.

D. Mill Neighborhood
1. Ethnic family system in multi-generation household unit.
2. Limited educational participation of youth.
3. Community labor force almost exclusively in blue collar work.
4. Concentration of female members of ethnic groups in factory labor force (influenced by local textile industry dominance).
5. Large number of women in blue collar labor force, generally.
6. Many textile establishments.

II. THE LATER PERIOD: 1925-1950

A. Mill Personnel
1. No child labor but continued use of adolescent females.
2. No boys employed.
3. Much smaller labor force.
4. Older work population.

B. Mill Organizational Structure
1. Managerial and staff authority.
2. Ownership powers diffused to heirs, banks, and credit organizations.
3. Trade unions recognized.
4. Mill no longer a dominant work center and employer

C. Mill Production Process and Technology
1. Automated production: knitting and boarding.
2. "Made to order" productions.
3. Use of chutes and conveyors in flow of work.
4. Many types and styles of product.
5. Mill dye houses obsolete.
6. Use of many types of yarn, "ingrains," synthetics.

D. Mill Neighborhood
1. Smaller family groups in two generation units.
2. High school attendance common.
3. Female "East Enders," i.e., Italians, enter white *collar employment; then followed later by males*.
4. As economy becomes diversified there are both male and female members of ethnic groups in factory labor force.
5. Fewer women in blue collar labor force of the locale.
6. Textile factories decline.

WATCHMAKER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 715.281

Strodtbeck, Fred L., and Sussman, Marvin B. "Of Time, the City, and the 'One-Year Guaranty': The Relations Between Watch Owners and Repairers," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXI, No. 6 (May, 1956), pp. 602-609.

Description:

I. The Watch Mechanism and Repair Technology:

The evolution of watchmaking from the development of the weights-operated clock to the modern watch involved essentially three inventions: the mainspring, the spiral balance, and the jewel bearings. By the beginning of the 18th century, these basic principles of watch construction had been discovered. The watchmaker of these times was a skilled craftsman working with the most advanced technology of his time. He enjoyed great prestige because of his association with royalty, and his familiarity with the sciences of geometry and mechanics.

Until the beginning of the present century, watchmakers duplicated all parts needed in watch repair from bits of metal. The skills required for the job approximated those of the earlier days when all parts of the watch were handmade. By 1900, however, Swiss technologists had perfected machine tools for the production of the 125 standardized, interchangeable parts which comprise the average watch. Following World War I, the channels of distribution for these parts were established in the United States. The availability of spare parts and subsequent innovations in repair technology--such as the electronic timer device--greatly simplified the tasks of the watchmaker. The extent of this simplification was illustrated by an ordnance training program used in World War II: Accordingly, "in 15 weeks, inexperienced men with mechanical aptitude could be taught to use spare parts in the maintenance and repair of any time pieces." The modern watch repairer was no longer the skilled craftsman but had virtually become an assembler and adjuster--a person with "primary knowledge of spare-parts supply channels, plus experience and a degree of kinesthetic coordination."

II. The Repairer's Work Situation:

As an occupation, watch repairing offers several advantages: freedom of action, self-employment, and security. Practically all repairers conduct some side line sales: watch bands, secondhand watches, cigarette lighters, and small items of jewelry. If the watch repairman is successful, he may, in time, become the owner of a jewelry store.

In most cases, the actual repair of watches can be done within a matter of minutes, whenever it is convenient for the repairman. In the absence of formalized control over the trade, many repairmen have exploited their clientele either by faulty workmanship, giving poor counsel, or overcharging. These practices have resulted in an unfavorable public attitude: "Watch repairers are all crooks."

Field observations of the authors revealed that some repairmen tend to charge a flat rate for the repair service. The repairman will suggest that the watch be cleaned and adjusted and then offer a year guaranty of service should something else go wrong with the watch. The watch repairman invariably insists on having an excessively long time to accomplish the repair job. The excessive delay may be due to the fact that the repairman only works whenever he chooses, but the authors' experience suggests that "the delay is often utilized as a technique to conceal the simplicity of many repair operations."

III. Discussion:

Watches tend to work satisfactorily for long periods of time. This characteristic prevents the watch owner, in most cases, from developing a personalized relationship with the repairman--unlike, for instance, the relationships that develop between the automobile repairman and his client.

The shift from watch repairing to a jewelry store operation requires the outlay of a large amount of capital. Establishing such an operation may require long years of development and may be threatened by the recent expansion of department stores into the field of jewelry business.

The horological societies attempt to create favorable public opinion by emphasizing watch repairing in the old craftsman tradition. They do very little in terms of regulating performance standards, however. Due to the fact that watch parts are standardized, a new business pattern has emerged. "Without discussion of the details of the repair, the repairer offers to clean and adjust the watch for a fixed sum," and offers a one-year guaranty on this service. The one-year guaranty, viewed as a social contract, serves different functions for different persons. For the watch owner, it gives assurance of satisfactory workmanship. The one-year guaranty also benefits the watch repairer. By regularizing the business relationship between the watch owner and the repairer, the one-year guaranty encourages clients to feel free to make purchases whenever they come to the store; a climate of trust which is established by the one-year guaranty works to the advantage of the watch repairer's increasing emphasis upon sales on the side.

Implications for Counseling:

This occupation is of interest to rehabilitation counselors since watchmaking is an occupation particularly well-suited to the training of disabled people.

This study illustrates the complementary relationship between the employed person and the customer. There are many subtle aspects of this kind of relationship about which we are frequently unaware. The impact of the one-year guaranty on the social relations between watch repairman and customer goes far beyond the impact it has in the economic sphere. It seems likely that non-economic factors such as loyalty and trust supersede, to some extent, strictly economic factors of price.

Counselors frequently evaluate a mechanical occupation solely in terms of the mechanical, manipulative, and visualization aptitudes required. This report clearly shows the importance of social relations in some mechanical occupations.

Prospective recruits to the occupation might be advised to consider their ability to meet the occupational requirements in respect to social relations.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"Why is a standard price charged for watch repairs of differing complexity? A 'spare-parts technology' has brought about an obsolescence of craftsman-skills which could not be hidden in a detailed discussion of repairs. The 'clean-and-adjust' practice, which results in the standard price, avoids status threats. When this practice is coupled with a 'one-year guaranty' to protect watch owners, mutual benefits arise which make particularized costing unlikely."

Methodology:

Interviews were conducted with 140 subjects who had had some experience with watch repairers. Field observations were made in several watch repair shops. In addition, articles, reports, and other publications pertaining to watchmaking were examined.

Cautions:

The somewhat scanty information regarding the sources of data warrants the use of caution in making broad generalizations on the basis of these findings.

Theoretical Orientation:

The amount charged for the repair of a watch is not related to the repairer's cost. In this instance, the discriminatory price is not the short-run result of imperfect competition as would be suggested by economic theory. Rather, it is caused by the "one-year guaranty". Because this practice serves the different yet complementary needs of owner and repairer, it is likely to continue despite its discriminatory nature.

Denton, Alfred M., Jr. "Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1960.*

Description:

The aims of this survey were three-fold: to learn something about the type of family that migrates to construction projects like the Atomic Energy Commission's Savannah River Plant in South Carolina; to see whether families who owned trailers differed in any major respect from other migrant families; and to try to learn something about the reasons for these families' migrations.

Construction of the Atomic Energy Commission's Savannah River Plant took place in the early 1950's and employed about 38,000 men. Hundreds of new homes were built in the six surrounding towns to accomodate some of the workers and their families. The remainder settled in trailer parks that were made available to them. In one type of trailer park, the contracting company provided the trailers in lieu of conventional housing. The other kind of trailer park housed families who had owned trailers and brought them along to their place of employment.

I. Demographic Characteristics of the Migrant Families

In terms of family size, the families who lived in both types of trailer parks were smaller than those living in conventional housing. The size of the latter families was almost the same as that of the old resident families in the area--3.65.

The family groups usually contained no more than five and no less than three persons. Families living in trailers were less likely to have others living with them who were not of the immediate family than were migrants living in nearby towns.

The migrant families tended to be young. Approximately 75 per cent of their children were under ten years of age. Only a few of the workers were over sixty years of age.

The occupants of both types of trailer parks were largely skilled and semi-skilled laborers. Officials, and professional and technical workers were less likely to live in trailers. Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred workers, and operators made up 92.8 per cent of those who lived in privately-owned trailers and 87.7 per cent of those who occupied the project trailers. Of the workers who lived in conventional housing, only 39 per cent were in the above occupational categories.

Slightly more than half of the families came from the South Atlantic region of the United States. About 75 per cent of the families traveled less than 600 miles to reach the construction site. Ownership of a trailer had little or no effect on the distance a family was likely to travel. In fact, some respondents thought that the distances of travel would be less for those families who owned a trailer since moving a trailer which accommodates a family of four or five was rather difficult. Of the families living in privately-owned trailers, 61 per cent came from non-contiguous states, whereas 68 per cent of the families living in project trailers and 64.4 per cent of the families living in nearby towns came from non-contiguous states.

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*This dissertation was abstracted selectively.

Both mean and median ages of the workers tended to increase as distance of migration increased. Migrants who came from a distance of more than 600 miles frequently tended to be in the forty to forty-nine and fifty-or-over age categories.

Both types of trailer families showed a slight increase in family size as the distance migrated increased.

With an increase in the distance traveled, an increase in the family income was likely. Families included in the sample usually earned $400.00 or more per month.

Families who owned trailers were more mobile and were likely to move more frequently than those who did not own trailers. There appeared to be a general relationship between the frequency of moving and the distance of the last move. Generally, the family who had moved the most frequently in the past was most likely to have moved a longer distance when coming to the Savannah River area.

The majority of the trailer-owning families came from urban backgrounds. On the average, those with urban backgrounds were better-educated than those who came from rural areas. The difference was not that great, however, when these rural-urban differentials in education were compared with that for the total white population in the United States.

The exact relationship between education and distance of the last move was not too clear. It appeared that migrants from states more than 600 miles away had completed the highest median number of years of schooling.

II. Job Information Sources:

An interesting way of communicating job information was found to exist among some of the migrant families. There were several families who were part of a larger group of families which corresponded frequently among themselves and exchanged information regarding jobs in the various parts of the country. Not all the families corresponded with all the others, nor did all the families even know all the others. These families made up a communication network that circulated information about available jobs in the different locations and also transmitted information about the good and bad points of each job, the communities, the housing, schools, climate and anything else that the individual would consider relevant to his decision to move to a particular location.

The wives played an important part in the operation of the job information network. They carried on the correspondence with the various families. The number of families the wives corresponded with varied from two or three up to as many as twelve.

The workers also utilized formal sources of information, such as unions, to learn about job opportunities; but, in most instances, they relied upon the information that was exchanged informally. The value of the informal communication network was expressed by this comment of a worker: "To get the 'real lowdown,' you have to know somebody already in the area."

One's relatives were another important source of job information. Quite often, a brother, a brother-in-law, the father, or some other relative would go to an area first and then write to the family about it. Many respondents indicated that they had moved on the strength of letters written by one relative or another.

The author points out that the type of job information networks just described are similar, in many respects, to those which are known to exist among members of professional groups. Fred E. Katz termed them "occupational contact networks." He pointed out that these occupational contact networks not only provide information about the direction and incidence of migration but also are instrumental in determining one's career development. The data collected in this survey supported such a belief.

Slightly over half of the families in the survey reported that they had contracted for the job before moving their families to the Savannah River Project. An even larger proportion reported that they had sought information from formal sources such as labor unions, employment service, etc., before moving. Even so, approximately one-third of the families said that they had not sought such information but had depended upon informal sources such as friends, relatives, and newspaper and radio reports.

Workers whose education consisted of less than eight years of schooling were not as likely to utilize formal sources of job information as were those workers who had completed nine or more years of school. The differences, however, were not great.

III. Reasons for Migration

There is a widespread belief that migration is prompted by economic motives either on the part of the migrant worker or on the part of his employer. The evidence of this study indicated that while economic factors were of importance, other factors were involved as well. In some cases, the other factors were more important than the economic incentives. Approximately 75 per cent of the respondents listed more than one reason for making the move to this project. Some were very frank in stating that the job itself was not the main reason for their coming. Such things as the climate, the fact that the family had never been in this part of the country before, or the fact that they had lived in the area before and wanted to return, were mentioned as reasons for their coming to the project.

Interestingly, in discussing their reasons for moving, many respondents talked about not being able to do the things that other people supposedly did if they were working in the same location for an extended period of time. These "other people" apparently were those who had higher incomes than the migrant workers and whose style of life was markedly different from that of the average skilled or semi-skilled worker. The following comment illustrates this point:

> How in the hell can a carpenter with three kids afford to give his family a lot of nice things? I can't make a lot of money

> like a lot of other people, but if I'm careful and pick my jobs right, we can see some of the country and it won't cost me any more than if I'd stayed in Ohio and worked for the same penny-pinching outfit all the rest of my life.

Some respondents stated that they "just like to travel," or "just like to move around." Still others cited the opportunity to mix and meet "nice folks."

The occasional moving from one place to another afforded the workers a change in scenery and routine. In many instances, the move was used as a substitute for extended family vacations and trips.

Conclusions:

The frequency with which moves are made is influenced not only by the fact that certain jobs call for frequent moves but also by several other factors. These could be the climate, a change in scenery, or just the promise of a new experience. From the results obtained through the interviews, it appeared that these migrant families in a way, sought a style of life similar to that which sociologists attribute to middle-class families. For these semi-skilled and skilled workers, movement meant the same as the annual vacation trip meant to the rich. Instead of a nice home in a middle-class neighborhood, they invested in a better and larger trailer.

Contrary to the beliefs of some sociologists that frequent migration is a disrupting force in the family life, the data indicated that these people did not see it as such. They usually eagerly looked forward to making the next move. In this instance, migration probably serves as an antidote to the "alienation from work," and the loss of motivation to work that is attributed to the working class.

Implications for Counseling:

We know little of the life style of the migrant trailer population. There is evidence that there may be status differences and conflict with the resident population. One point of conflict arises when a new trailer camp brings an influx of children into a small school district, necessitating a sharp rise in school taxes.

It is unlikely that many migrant construction workers go to vocational counselors for help in making decisions about migration. As the report indicated, such decisions are based upon information received from the informal communication network.

Many other clients, however, do seek help with vocational choice decisions which involve migration. These are more likely to be workers facing unemployment because the factory in which they are employed is moving to another location. Some are given an opportunity for employment with the company in the new location; others are not.

Among the concerns clients express in discussing possible migration are the disruption of kinship and friendship ties, and the effect of such a move on the children's education and social life. Clients frequently suffer acute choice anxiety in facing a decision to migrate. In the present development of vocational counseling, the counselor has little expert knowledge of the problems of migration to contribute to the decision-making process. This study is of great value in giving some insight into the problems involved and how migrant construction workers, as one group, have coped with them.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Data for this survey was gathered by means of personal interviews. A total of 821 families were interviewed. The sample included 301 families living in privately-owned trailers, 147 families living in project-sponsored trailers, and 373 families living in conventional housing in the six nearby towns. The survey was started during the fall of 1952 and was continued through the winter of 1953.

Cautions:

Findings of this study are limited in scope, since they were based upon a single situation at a given time, in a particular location. Further research is needed to ascertain whether generalizations, if any, can be made from the conclusions.

Theoretical Orientation:

Except for data of the United States Census Bureau, there has been little information collected on migrant workers. The present study was intended to fill this information gap. Its aim was to learn something about the demographic characteristics of the migrant families, and the reasons for the migration.

The theory of Sara Smith provided the point of departure in the investigation: "Persons in certain occupations, because of the nature of the occupations and the relative locational stability of the occupations, are more predisposed to migrate than are others."

CONSTRUCTION OCCUPATIONS
FOREMEN, CONSTRUCTION **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 860-869

Myers, Richard R. "Interpersonal Relations in the Building Industry," Human Organization, Vol. V., No. 2 (Spring, 1946), pp. 1-7.

Description:

In the building industry, each worker makes his own employment contacts and job arrangements. Much of the hiring is based on personal contacts with the foreman and the foreman's personal preferences and schedules. Due to the fact that building-project jobs are of relatively short duration, there is a continual labor turnover which, in general, allows the workers to establish their own employment pattern. In the absence of stable and permanent relationships, tradesmen and employers are constantly negotiating; the tradesmen attempt to find desirable new employment opportunities, and the employer attempts to assemble enough competent workmen to do a project.

Labor Force Selection: Selection of the labor force and control over hiring is almost completely in the hands of the various trade foremen. Since the work groups are small and must work intimately together, the foremen use their own standards in evaluating such matters as background and temperament of the workers to be selected for their groups. Hiring practices are frequently biased by racial, ethnic, and religious preferences of the foremen. In Detroit, for example, "where persons of Polish descent constitute a large and well integrated ethnic group, it is commonly accepted among building tradesmen that a Polish foreman will inevitably select an all-Polish crew."

The personal preferences of the foreman are somewhat offset by the fact that building jobs have to compete with one another for labor supply. The foreman is often in the position of a petitioner. This situation is in part due to the fact that, during the 1930's, relatively few apprentices had been trained in the basic, old-line trades of carpentry, bricklaying, and plastering. Postwar demands in the building industry outran the available labor supply. Following the war, the average age of the building craftsman in most areas exceeded fifty years. There was a scarcity of skilled workers for which no immediate remedy was in sight. Thus, "it is not unusual for the foreman, sometimes in company with the contractor himself, to drive about the community at night, address book in hand, contacting workers in their homes in an attempt to secure crews of proven ability for a job or jobs which must be started quickly.

Worker-Foremen Relations: The hiring practices in the industry operate to the advantage of the workers and serve to enhance their self-esteem. Conditions in the industry further enhance the worker's position. The checks and balances system which exists in the relations between foremen and workers grants an unusually large amount of freedom to the workers. Both groups belong to the same craft unions. The workers may file a complaint against an "unfair" foreman and if a foreman is convicted of "rushing" the workers, he is subject to stricter discipline than the worker who is found guilty of an equivalent offense. In the constant reorganization of the labor force, foreman and worker roles are frequently interchanged. The foreman usually regards his supervisory role as somewhat temporary, "and in his work relationship anticipates the day when he may be working under one of his fellows." Workers do not see foremen as the "company men." Instead, they regard them as individual personalities, "who, because of their power to hire and to regulate the composition of artisan crews, must be met and dealt with on a personal basis."

Each foreman tends to establish a circle of friends and acquaintances who represent a sort of personal labor pool. He regularly hires from this pool. The tests of hiring are personal tests, the criteria for which are established by the foreman according to his personal preferences and biases. Usually there is no company policy governing selection of workers, except that the foreman have an efficient crew out on the construction site.

Congeniality between the tradesmen and foremen seems to be more important in the building industry than in any other industry "because the nature of the handicraft manufacture by skilled craftsmen places a premium upon mutual consultation and cooperation."

Responses of 38 foremen to the question "On what basis do you select the men who work for you?" illustrated the significance of personal attributes in the hiring process. Along with the universal criterion of availability, 37 out of 38 mentioned crafts skill as fundamental in the selection of the worker. Other traits frequently mentioned were: sociability (35 out of 38), good judgment (32 out of 38), and initiative (24 out of 38).

It is a common practice among foremen to maintain a notebook or some other listing containing the names of the workers whom they regularly employ. In the Detroit study, it was found that the building foreman's "book" listed approximately 25-45 names of workers rated in terms of their skill excellence. Generally, the foreman maintains some sort of social contact with preferred workers and their families. When the workers happen to be employed by some other firm, the foreman might make periodic calls to check upon their availability for upcoming jobs. Some names on the foreman's list represent a secondary personal labor pool. These workers are called upon to work when the primary workers are unavailable. These men know that they are substitutes and do not depend completely on the foreman's call for their employment.

In each building area, many such primary and secondary circles of workers surround the foremen. At times, the circles overlap. The same tradesmen may be listed by several foremen since the foreman working for one contracting company may not have jobs for all of his preferred workers. The Detroit survey found that workers sometimes depended upon as many as five hiring agents for their work.

In addition to the primary and secondary circles of workers, there are workers who have no personal ties to any foremen. These workers may be recent arrivals in the community. Being unknown, they may have to wait for general calls issued to the union by prospective employers, or they may find employment at large building projects where hiring needs go beyond the range of a single foreman's contacts. Over a period of time, the highly skilled and adaptable newcomers would establish favorable personal relations with foremen which would then lead to continuity of employment.

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The relationships between foremen and tradesmen are controlled by status considerations. The foreman who attempts to assemble an efficient work crew must have a fairly intimate knowledge of and regard for the individual tradesman's conception of his own status. The highly skilled carpentry finish crews provide an example of the importance of status considerations. A well-established "number one" man cannot work satisfactorily in a "number two" position. At times, delicate negotiations must be made in order to preserve the proper order of craft ranks.

The Worker and his Fellow Tradesmen: The nature of the building work and the constant labor turnover from job to job emphasize the importance of personal adaptability in work relationships. "The need for personal adaptability is greater among those workers who habitually work in the trades which are hired by the general contractor for large scale projects." In such a setting, the men who fail to fit into the group situation which is becoming established are likely to be let go. Workers in the trades who are usually employed by subcontractors are more likely to know each other and to have worked together frequently, since subcontractors are likely to hire smaller number of men repeatedly and maintain some workers rather permanently in their employ.

Personal attachments and interdependence between building workers is the strongest among the riveting crews in structural iron erection, and among the expert finishing crews in the carpentry trade. Riveting crew members, for instance, develop an intimate knowledge of one another's actions and show a definite reluctance to take outsiders into their group, even temporarily. In carpentry, the highly skilled finish crews have more permanent associations both on the job and outside the context of work. Usually, each finish carpenter has a limited number of fellow workers with whom he claims he is able to work in perfect confidence.

On most jobs, there is a noticeable distinction between preferred workers who are accustomed to working together and outsiders who are temporary additions to the work crews.

Craft prerogatives are well formulated in the industry. Tools and processes in particular crafts are emphatically guarded. The defensive view that the bricklayers have regarding craft matters furnishes a characterization of activities of the building tradesmen. As the various tradesmen arrive at the construction site, they survey and classify all projected work. Over-lapping tasks may be frequent. Jurisdictional common law of the trades, however, so narrowly regulates the relationships that, in some instances, the driving of a nail or the stroke of a trowel by a member of the wrong trade may provoke work stoppage, cause legal action, and perhaps lead to physical violence between the members of the particular trades.

It is interesting to note that income as a mark of status has almost no significance among workers in the building trades. Status is recognized to the extent that one has the ability to "command the rate," i.e., by his skill and ability to obtain, without question, the full hourly rate customary in the community. By such external marks of status, the qualified mechanics are distinguished from the presumably inferior "boots" and "hatchet men" in the trades. Total yearly income, however, has little importance in terms of status since there is an implicit recognition of the fact that unpredictable hazards of the trade and industry or personal choice may limit one's potential earning power during the year. Occupational hazards such as loss of time between jobs or delays for which management is responsible are recognized and are known to strike the workers rather indiscriminately. "Luck" plays a significant role in the workers' calculations. Also, among building workers it is an accepted custom for an individual to "lay off" for a few weeks through personal choice, or to decline to accept certain employment.

The Worker and the Union Agent: The successful journeyman regards the agent as his own personal grievance adjustor. As such, the agent is periodically in and out of the journeyman's favor.

The relationship is different in the case of the less successful journeymen. In this instance, the union agent is in the position of power and may exert considerable control over the worker. This control may result from the fact that the union business agent is the person who handles the calls for employment. The journeyman must depend upon him for work. The union business agent may manipulate these less successful journeymen so as to build up a group of followers among the rank and file, who look upon him as the protector of the workers' interest. By such a method, the business agent is able to retain his personal dominance over the group of reserve workers even though he has lost favor with the elite group of workers (i.e., those who get their jobs through personal contacts).

Summary and Conclusions:

The technological and organizational requirements of the building trades produced highly individualized employment patterns. Interpersonal relations in the industry are mostly informal and unstandardized. Opportunity for personal choice and the emphasis on "sociability" create primary group situations which reveal considerable internal stability.

The primary group organization of work crews, the limitations imposed upon personal power in the supervisory ranks, and the mutual regard for individual status have created an interrelated "security system" for the craftsman. Any major change would jeopardize this "security system" of the journeyman.

Implications for Counseling:

Applicants for apprenticeships and other entry work in the construction field are frequently confused and frustrated by the personalized style of recruitment. Successful applicants are usually friends, or at least acquaintances, of the business agent or "in-group" journeymen. A direct application by the outsider is usually unsuccessful. It is useful for the counselor to discuss these practices with counselees considering work in the construction trades.

Some of the counseling problems encountered with construction workers follow.

Journeyman status in a construction trade is a little like the college degree. Except during a depression, it offers a basic minimum employment security. A few vocational counseling clients find little job satisfaction in their trade and want to try something else which might be more satisfying; yet, they must deal with the fact that the things they are qualified to do will not bring the same high wages received in construction work. Another frequent problem is that a relatively minor disability may make a construction trade infeasible.

Although annual earnings of construction workers are high, there are many temporary layoffs between jobs, and because of weather or strikes. Some workers are unable to withstand the anxiety associated with this uncertainty and seek employment which provides a lower annual wage but steady work all year around.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Interviews were conducted with 500 skilled tradesmen and 38 foremen in Detroit in 1941. These data were gathered during an atypical period in building trade activity between the depression and total involvement in World War II.

Cautions:

The sample on which these generalizations are based was drawn from only one community. The analysis does not take into account possible variations that might occur among other localities.

Theoretical Orientation:

Formal organizations influence the structure of the labor market and attempt to control job allocations. Trade unions, trade and professional associations, and government agencies represent both conflicting and cooperative forces in the labor market. Historically, the lack of fixed social boundaries stimulated various groups to protect themselves in economically competitive situations. In the building trades, for example, it is possible for a group to control hiring whether the plant is unionized or not.

PLUMBERS, GAS FITTERS, AND STEAM FITTERS
PLUMBER'S APPRENTICES

D.O.T. Code: 862.381

ABSTRACT

Moss, Leonard W. "The Master Plumber in Detroit: A Study in Role Adjustment and Structural Adaptation in a Handicraft Occupation Undergoing Technological Change." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1955.*

Description:

Historical Development:

Until the Civil War, the master plumber was at once the manufacturer, retailer, and installer of all plumbing works. He fabricated the lead conduit from the sheet lead by hammering and working the seams together. His trade secrets were closely guarded, and admission to the trade was rigidly controlled by the guild. The journeyman, an itinerant laborer, slowly mastered the skills of the trade by working with the master. In the early days, the master designed the fixtures, planned the jobs and laid out the work for the journeyman. In turn, the journeyman was aided by the apprentice. Because the fixtures were made in the master's shop for the specific jobs, the early foundry production of cast iron pipes and fittings had little effect on the plumbing trade. The first great shift in this occupational pattern was caused by the factory manufacture of the ceramic water closets and soon afterwards the bathtubs. The factories produced these items at a cost far below that set by the master plumber and made them available to a wider market. As a result, the master plumber relinquished the role of fixture manufacturer and became, instead, a fixture distributor and installer. His basic orientation to the trade remained intact; he was still the highly skilled craftsman.

The introduction of the cast iron pipe called for the creation of new tools and for the development of new work techniques. At first, the masters fashioned their own caulking instruments and, in turn, taught the journeyman how to make and use them. The journeyman in those days was still the itinerant type, free to pick up his tools and journey to the employ of another master. The relations between master and journeyman were informal and inter-personal.

The beginning of skyscraper construction and the expansion of cities brought significant changes to the plumbing trade. The construction of these buildings and the resultant increased need for plumbing work facilitated the change over from the cast iron pipe to threaded steel pipe and fittings. The ease with which the threaded pieces fitted together made the lead working skills of the master obsolete.

The need for high water pressure and complex waste removal systems was beyond the planning skills of the old-time master plumber. "The increasing complexity of building design called for a higher degree of skill in the drafting plans and specifications than the master possessed." The handling of these tasks became the province of the sanitary engineers and the architects. The master plumber lacked the theoretical knowledge of hydrodynamics and physics required "to bridge the gap between his restricted practice and the demands of the new technology."

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

The increasing growth of factory production of plumbing materials and supplies divested the master more and more of his role of manufacturer/distributor. While some masters still functioned as distributors, the increased capital requirements for direct purchases from the factory brought the wholesaler into the picture. Regional markets developed for the manufactured goods. At first, the ceramic water closets and bathtubs were shipped directly to the installing plumbers. By the late 1870's, the hardware wholesaler acted as the intermediary between the manufacturer and the installer plumber. The increase in specialization by some jobbers dealing exclusively in plumbing materials and supplies finally abolished the master plumber's role as distributor. Now, he was a mechanic, a retailer, and an installer. In the struggle to prevent outsiders from further usurping the trade, the masters' association and journeymen's union made their appearances about this time.

The master still retained control in his shop despite the loss of some of his functions. His relationship to the journeyman became somewhat formalized as the journeymen's union became established. The master still retained his title as a "master-mechanic," but he was no longer the diversified skilled craftsman of earlier times. Slowly, some masters began to concentrate their efforts along specialized lines.

The expansion of urban centers and the attendant need for water and sanitation systems, as well as the development and use of gas lamps, vastly increased the number of plumbers and the volume of business. Studies stemming from field research demonstrated the relationship between control of water and sewage and public health objectives. Medical research demonstrated the possibility of water transmission of bacteria causing specific diseases. As a result of these developments, urban sanitation following the 1880's became the charge of municipal governments. The first plumbing codes were enacted in Washington, D.C., and then in New York. Essentially, plumbing practice is the translation of sanitation theory into practical engineering. The plumbing codes are simply the enumeration of minimum standards designed to promote the application of research findings and uniformity of practice. The code gave the master plumbers legal authority to install plumbing. The actual enforcement of health standards of the code, however, remained with the governmental agencies. In Detroit, the Bureau of Plumbing Inspection was the authorized agency charged with registering and licensing of plumbers and inspecting plumbing facilities. The plumbing codes were interpreted by the master plumbers as instruments designed to uphold their status.

The Present Structure of the Trade:

Since the beginning of the century, the structure of the trade has changed very little. "Tradition and consensus within the trade had defined the scope of the occupation and the role requirements of the various positions within the occupational hierarchy." Duties of the master plumber were defined as follows:

> A Master Plumber is hereby defined to mean a person duly certified as such and authorized to engage in the installation of plumbing through contract, or otherwise, and also in planning engineering, superintending, installation, maintenance,

> and repair with respect to plumbing in all its branches, and as such, a master plumber is authorized to employ journeymen plumbers and plumbers' apprentices and other persons necessary for the proper installation of plumbing work in accordance with the plumbing regulations and provisions of this code. (ASSE Yearbook, 1950, pp. 328.)

Below the masters in the occupational hierarchy are the journeymen and the apprentices. In Michigan, the journeymen are licensed by the state after certification by the State Plumbing Board. The apprentices are registered but not licensed.

The post-World War I building boom called for increased specialization and increased division of labor in the plumbing trade. "The all-around mechanic" became a thing of the past, and emphasis was placed on speed rather than quality. A new spirit brought on by the new technology began to pervade the industry. The master plumber no longer regarded himself as a craftsman but began to think of himself as a mechanic.

By the end of World War I, the general building contractor became firmly established as the coordinator of construction work. In many instances, he acted as a broker, and the master plumber, in turn, was relegated to the role of sub-contractor. This was particularly true in the case of new construction and large-scale repair work.

By the end of the 1920's, the demands of building technology had produced several sub-specialties in the plumbing practice. Examples of the various specialized fields are: industrial and commercial construction and/or maintenance, custom residential construction, project residential construction, residential modernization and repair, school building construction and maintenance, remodeling and alterations, fire-fighting system installations, furnace installation and repair, etc. Each new technique and each new invention brought forth a specialist who concentrated his efforts in one field. The routinization of tasks and the simplification of job requirements has, in the long run, reduced the craftsman's role to that of the assembler-mechanic. At present, according to their field of specialty, the following types of master plumbers are found: large and small contracting masters, merchant masters, jobbing masters, and marginal masters. A brief description of these types follows.

The Contracting Masters: There are two types: those engaged in large scale business, and those doing business in a smaller way. The large contracting master is highly specialized--the work of his firm is limited to installation of industrial piping and plumbing or commercial construction. His firm, based on the modern corporate structure, employs ten or more persons.

The large contracting master spends most of his time with administrative details, the supervision of actual jobs being delegated to the foreman. A crew of journeymen, apprentices, and helpers is assigned to specific jobs by the foreman. The master himself spends very little time on inspection of job sites. Rather, his time is spent with planning, estimating, purchasing, bidding, and soliciting of additional business.

This type of plumbing master has a sizable capital investment in the business.

He tends to use the latest and most effective techniques developed in the trade. He probably spends less time (an average of 8 years) as a journeyman than did the average master. He closely identifies with his trade and belongs to one or several trade associations. He regards himself as a businessman rather than as a master plumber. On the basis of his income and size of business, he considers himself a member of the upper middle class. He realizes that the plumbing trade has many problems, and his biggest complaint concerns the increasing competition from smaller contracting masters.

In contrast, the small contracting master concentrates his efforts in residential buildings, working primarily as a sub-contractor. He combines the work of administrator, supervisor, and often that of the worker. When he is out on a job, he must watch out for the union business agent who may object to his working as a journeyman. The small contracting master's business outlook is somewhat pessimistic. He finds it hard to "break into the 'big time' since the 'big boys' have the best contracts sewed up." The small contractor views the building code as "the safeguard of the plumber; our law designed to keep out the outsiders."

The small contractor apparently went into business on his own, following the building boom of the mid 40's. He spent long years as a journeyman and is thoroughly acquainted with the journeyman system. He thinks of himself as a master plumber, a middle class individual. Frequently, he may not be a member of the plumbing masters' association.

Merchant Masters: The large merchant master maintains a showroom in addition to his plumbing work and, by conscious effort, mimics the merchandising techniques of department stores, mail order houses, and other competitors. The average merchant master, however, pays little attention to his display area and concentrates on plumbing contract work.

The large merchant master employs a sales staff and has a large amount of capital invested in the business. He is very critical of the prevailing distribution system; he feels that he is entitled to a greater discount than he actually receives because of the great volume of his purchases. Frequently, such a master obtains supplies from sources outside the regular distribution channels. The manufacturers are his favorite target of criticism; he blames them for the existence of the prevailing DTU (direct-to-you, i.e., consumer) distribution methods.

Although the merchant master quibbles about many provisions of the building code, he regards it as a protection for the plumber and for the public as well, on the whole. He hopes that with education the public may become acquainted with the master plumber's activities. This type of individual is likely to be a member of the plumbers' association and tends to identify with the middle classes. The larger merchant calls himself "a businessman"; his smaller colleague thinks of himself as a master plumber.

The Jobbing Masters: Although the general services of this type approximate those of his skilled predecessor, the jobbing master differs from the old time plumber in many respects. For instance, his tools have been adapted to the latest techniques; his market is not limited to the immediate neighborhood which surrounds his shop. The jobbing master faces much competition within the trade, mostly from the larger, more efficient firms. He is concerned with the effects of mass production methods, development and increasing use of plastic pipes, and the continued spread of DTU distribution methods. He is aware of the fact that he could easily be reduced to the role of a mechanic working for another larger master.

Usually, the jobbing master hires one or two journeymen. He is the purchasing agent, supervisor, planner, and estimator. His place of business may be the garage of his home, or a store front near his house. He is closely tied to the wholsaler; since he can't afford to buy large quantities, he must depend on the wholesale to store and to deliver the needed materials to the job site. He views the union with mixed feelings; he thinks it is "controlled by guys who have gone crazy demanding such high wages..." He is unlikely to be an association member. He seems to be proud of being his own boss and being able to make a living with the little education he has.

The Marginal Masters: This type is no longer self-employed. He works for another master plumber, or on occasion for the DTU. Generally he entered the trade a long time ago after serving as a journeyman for an extended period of time. He got into business for himself during the mid 40's when building contractors were begging master plumbers to do their jobs. The marginal masters claim that increased competition and lack of suffieient capital and credit have forced them to turn to jobbing.. These comments illustrate their situation:

> How can I compete against the big boys when they have everything sewed up solid. They have credit, discounts, project work,...
>
> ....
>
> There's no use beating your brains out in fighting the DTU in selling stuff...might as well install their jobs...

Retaining their master licenses, the marginal plumbers can take out permits to do odd plumbing jobs. In this way, they supplement their incomes by working on small installations during free time. The marginal plumber regards the trade association as the clique of the "big boys." He views himself as a working class individual, a plumber, rather than as a businessman or master plumber. He is likely to be dissatisfied with his lot and feel that he might have done better in another occupation. He regards the building code as the only effective means for controlling competition: "Only the law prevents everybody from getting into the act."

Summarizing Conclusions:

The history of the occupational system revealed that the system has "undergone an evolutionary transition from a 'state of incoherent homogeneity...to one of coherent heterogeneity'..." External economic factors influenced the general conditions within the trade. The trend toward corporate trade practices has been reflected in the occupational system. With the creation of the corporate form came the development of the small-businessman orientation of the master-entrepreneur. The increasing costs of doing business created some problems in capital financing. The price structure of goods and the availability of credits fluctuated with market conditions. Periods of depression and prosperity have controlled, to a great extent, the fluctuation of competition both within and without the occupational system. Following the last depression, absentee ownership of plumbing firms and the increased marginality of producers developed. "The marginal producers went outside the established channels of material distribution and contributed materially to the development of DTU direct-to-you distribution methods retailing."

Closely connected with these economic forces were the social forces which exerted increasing influence upon the trade. The growth and development of the cities, the need for adequate water supply and waste removal, and the population expansion contributed to the growing demand for plumbing services.

External technology in the form of new materials, new tools, and new techniques eliminated the secret skill requirements of the master. In fact, the role of the master plumber was threatened with extinction as factory production of goods removed him from the role of the manufacturer. As a result of the combined effects of economic, social and technological changes, the master plumber's role was reduced to that of a skilled mechanic.

In addition to the external forces which shaped the structure of the occupational system, certain social forces within the occupational system brought about the re-structuring of relations within the trade. Of particular importance has been the development of journeymen's unions. These contributed largely to the increased formalization of employer-employee relationships, promoting stability within the system.

The adaptation of the existing occupational structure can be seen in the loss of role functions by the master plumber. From the position of manufacturer, retailer, installer mechanic, the master plumber's role, in many instances, has been reduced to that of the installer mechanic. The rise of the DTU distribution method was prompted by the economically marginal producers and by the inadequacy of the plumbers as retail merchants.

The overall role adjustments and structural adaptations are characterized by increasing division of labor. With regard to structure, the hierarchical pattern remained, but within the skill hierarchy many specialized patterns exist. The most striking adaptation of the system has been the creation of a distribution pattern to assume the function formerly handled by the master plumber.

With regard to role adjustment by the master, a modicum of skill remained. Machine technology resulted in specialization and reduction of skill requirements. Four distinct types of master were found: contracting, merchant, jobbing, and marginal plumbers. The merchant and contracting masters demonstrated more advanced occupational training than the other masters. The empirical evidence suggested that larger masters tended to be more perceptive of the threatening factors impinging upon the trade than were the smaller masters. Decrease in skill requirements and routinization of tasks has opened the way for competition. On the individual level, the master can do very little to defend his status. On the collective level, the ASSE (the trade association) serves to preserve the status of the master.

Implications for Counseling:

This report on the historical development of an occupation is an excellent way of thinking about an occupation since it serves as a supplement to the usual cross sectional knowledge available to vocational counselors. Counselees considering entering the plumbing field will understand the problems better when they are seen in this historical context.

The recent invention and development of additional complicated plumbing devices and automatic controls to existing devices seem to be increasing the complexity of the occupation and require greater skills in assembly, repair and adjustment. It would appear that these skills are as demanding as the metal forming skills which, the report indicates, were required of the master plumber early in the history of the occupation. There seems to be every indication that this trend toward greater complexity will continue so that an upgrading in the intelligence and academic training required for the occupation is likely to be a need. In large commercial and industrial buildings, the maintenance mechanic meets these needs. In residential buildings, most of these problems are assigned to the repair plumber.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Interviews were held with a random sample of 50 master plumbers in Detroit and with six master plumbers from other communities. Information relating to the historical development of the trade was gathered from various sources, including published materials. Information about the present structure of the occupation was obtained by personal observation. In order to obtain a complete picture of the industry, it was necessary to interview a variety of other persons connected with the plumbing trade. Among these were manufacturers of plumbing supplies, jobbers, plumbing inspectors, supervisory personnel and sanitary engineers in the Detroit Bureau of Plumbing, representatives of the plumbers' union, and plumbing retailers.

Cautions:

Findings of this study were based upon conditions in the Detroit area.

Theoretical Orientation:

The socio-historical analysis of the plumbing trade viewed the occupation as an ongoing social system. As such, it examined the impact of external and internal forces upon the system and the adaptations made.

PIPELINER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 899.884

Graves, Bennie, "'Breaking Out': An Apprentice System Among Pipeline Construction Workers," Human Organization, Vol. XVII, No. 3 (Fall, 1958), pp. 9-13.

Description:

"Pipelining"--The Setting: Learning the pipeline construction skills is conceived as a sequence of changing status-role relationships between the aspirant to the trade and the work group that accepts him as a trainee. This article explores the nature of these social relationships and points out the strategic changes that take place in the course of training.

Pipeline transmission companies award contracts to lowest bidding construction companies, who in turn organize the work into a "spread," i.e., a pipeline work plant consisting of enough men and equipment to build a single pipeline. This spread is divided into eight to ten gangs (a group of unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled workers), directed by a foreman. The transmission company remains in ultimate authority over the workers in order to assure adherence to their technical and quality specifications. They often pass on the hiring of workers, and have the power to fire any worker believed to be doing faulty work.

Among the workers' gang, only about one half of them are in-group "pipeliners." The remainder are "common hands" recruited from nearby towns for the particular job, only a few of whom will remain in the occupation when the job is completed. The in-group workers are recruited for each new job by an informal grapevine; i.e., phone calls or letters from foremen, workers, friends or relatives at the job location, or direct calls to contractors, spreadmen, or foremen. The trade magazine, The Pipeliner, which publishes information about jobs in progress and proposed jobs, is another source of recruitment.

Cliques of individual pipeliners and families often travel together from job to job, forming a fairly cohesive group. Such a setting is fortunate for the apprentice because the group usually includes the novice's main instructor, who keeps him informed about new jobs and job opportunities in which he may practice his desired skill. In addition, the friendship-kinship group members provide cooperation and good will, and often supplement the learner with food, lodging, and money, since he is frequently unemployed.

The pipeline skill aspirant may learn the trade in one of the four generally recognized skill categories: welder, heavy equipment operator, pipe-processing machine operator, and truck driver, acquiring the necessary training either in trade schools (welders only), in other industries, or by "breaking out on the line" while working as a laborer. Most skilled workers are trained "on the line." Trade school welders are not favored, and those who have outside training are regarded by the pipeliners as inferior in skill and not likely to live up to their obligations to contractors and transmission companies.

Breaking Out: Pipeline skill learning may appear to be a series of loose and unorganized activities, but pipeliners themselves regard the acquisition of techniques as a cumulative experience on the pipeline, supplemented by the help of skilled workers.

According to the author's observations, acquiring the trade is a selective, rather than a random process based on social relationships and value orientation of the aspirant, as it tends to conform to workers' beliefs concerning the skill necessary to be a pipeline welder or an operator.

The social relationship accompanying the pipeline skill learning may be characterized as a series of changing status-role relationships between the trainee and the people who help him to break out: skilled workers, supervisors, and inspectors. The process usually consists of three stages:

The First Stage: The aspirant wishing to learn the trade must establish a fairly close friendship with members of the group. If not a kin, he may acquire a strategic friendship by "horseplay" with skilled, higher status workers, during or after working hours. Or the aspirant may distinguish himself in some particularly difficult situation where there is need for physical prowess and extra long working hours; for example, river crossing. In such a situation, the social distance between workers and bosses, between high and low status workers, seems to disappear.

The Second Stage: Once the man is recognized in his group as a "bronc breaking out," he learns by instruction and practice, at slack moments or when the work need not be expert. He enjoys preference in hiring, and he is the last one to be laid off when the job is completed. Throughout this stage the trainee's peculiar status is recognized by management, as shown by the supervisor's permission to use pipeline, materials, and equipment, as well as by the tolerance of substandard work by company inspectors. It may be that the inspector's tolerance with respect to the apprentice system results from his necessary cooperation with the construction companies.

The Third Stage: The transition from a learning-dependency to a competitive relationship creates an ambiguous work role and status, as the trainee and the people who help him sometimes differ in judging his competency. The trainee may not understand adequately the changed role expectations which apply to him and to the people who have helped him. He may be thrown into the competitive labor pool without the necessary competence and source of help. This is due to the uncertainty arising from the two sets of hiring standards in pipelining which, in general, are: (1) hiring on the basis of kin relationships, and (2) hiring in terms of skills and production ability. The two standards are fairly well segregated in the first two stages, but the distinction becomes obscured in the third, due, perhaps, to the lack of any "graduation" ritual or other symbolism which might denote the trainee's transition from bronc to full status.

Broncs who can do skilled work "but not too good" are sometimes advised to go to other companies until they "get pretty good." The assumption among workers is that "you learn faster when you get on your own." Also, leaving the primary group serves the important function of taking the newly trained worker out of the uncertain relationships in which "old buddies all of a sudden start throwing their weight around." Moreover, it relieves supervisors of the uncertainty of their roles with respect to trainees.

Conclusion: This peculiar training system circumvents a great deal of conflict which might result from large kinship groups working in a highly competitive industry. Learning takes place when there "is not much else to do and it won't hurt." The system frees the bosses from having to decide whether or not to hire workers on a kinship-friendship basis or to hire more skilled workers. In many cases, both sets of hiring standards are operating.

Implications for Counseling:

This is a welcome study in that, although the apprenticeship training programs in the United States have been largely characterized by the dominance of informal rather than formal procedures, the literature about them has stressed the formal procedures, such as the signing of apprenticeship papers, etc.

The typical counselee seeking an apprenticeship uses the direct approach and is bewildered by his rejection because he does not understand that recruitment is usually through kinship-friendship groups.

This study is highly useful, not only because of its description of this particular occupational group, but for an understanding of the apprenticeship system in general, in which the need for skill in interpersonal relationships in acting out the apprenticeship role requirements frequently exceeds the need for skill in the duties of the trade itself.

For predictions of success in apprenticeships, counselors may wish to assess the client's interpersonal relations skills, as measured by group participation as well as by the usual measures of mechanical ability.

Scope: Occupational field

Author's Abstract:

"This paper undertakes a description of the social relationships involved in becoming a skilled pipeline construction worker. The industry offers a convenient opportunity to study the informal and direct recruiting of workers. Construction companies do not sponsor formal training programs, yet most of the skilled workers in pipelining probably were trained on the job while working as laborers. Moreover, the skills are fairly complex and in order to learn one of them, the learner must have instruction and he must have access to the equipment and materials with which to practice. The process of skill-learning, then, has been examined in terms of the trainee's status relationship to: 1) previously trained workers who can give or withhold instruction, 2) supervisors who control access to the materials and equipment for practice, and 3) inspectors who control work quality."

Methodology:

"This paper is based upon the writer's experience of eleven months as a pipeline worker in two southwestern contracting companies, and upon his contacts with pipeliners over the past seven years."

Cautions:

Generalizations may be made with cautions since the article, for the most part, reflects the author's personal interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

Theodore Caplow, in The Sociology of Work (Minneapolis, 1954), has pointed out that certain occupational groups limit the manner of recruitment by applying formal or informal, direct or indirect control methods. Formal control of recruiting requires that the trainee complete a specified course of schooling; for example, each stage of learning carrying an appropriate status. One talks about informal control of recruitment when the novice passes through a series of related social statuses to which some importance is attached. These statuses tend to be casual and not defined by written rules. Nepotism, the voluntary, spontaneous designation of a successor, and relationships to a clique and its acceptance of the trainee, are examples of informal control.

Direct control of the recruits takes place, for instance, when the applicant must take a qualifying examination, i.e., a bar examination. When opportunity to acquire the required training or experience is limited and is used to limit the number of trainees in an occupation, informal control of recruitment takes place.

When an occupation has developed its own particular code of behavior and its members form a coherent, intimate circle, all four kinds of control are coordinated in the recruitment process.

RAILROAD WORKERS **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 910

Cottrell, W.F., "Of Time and the Railroader," American Sociological Review, Vol. IV (April, 1939), pp. 190-198.

(A more detailed account of the railroader's job is found in the book: The Railroader. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1940.)

Description:

The importance of time and speed in the railroader's life is accentuated, not only by the technology of railroad operations, which is geared to the complete intermeshing of sequential events with split-second accuracy, but by the competition among railroads serving the same routes, and the stiff penalties imposed on the railroad if shipments are delayed. The slightest delay in any one of the minute details comprising the continuous chain of events would upset the whole system and lead to disastrous consequences. Thus, with the continuous twenty-four-hour day throughout the calendar year, the railroader faces incessant pressures to maintain accuracy in timing. In the context of his work, he is always on call. "A wreck, washout, split switch--or any inconvenience--will bring him to work, even though his shift is over and he is supposedly a 'free' man."

In all aspects of social relationships, this intense time consciousness characterizes the railroadman. For instance, the end of the sixteen-hour work day for the railroad worker is absolute. If the crew happens to be on the road at the end of the workday period, they must stop all activities and wait for the relief crew to bring them back. If an accident holds up the train and their work period is over, they are not allowed to move in order to clear the tracks.

The complete opposite holds true for the shopmen, dispatchers, car and engine inspectors, and those workers who are on a three-shift basis. Their work is characterized by the complete denial of time-plan opportunities.

The family life of these persons, as well as their opportunities to participate in community social affairs, is disrupted. The shopman, for instance, cannot plan to attend his daughter's birthday party, his son's graduation, or go to church with his family on a holiday.

The same forces, however, that tend to disrupt family life, often work in the opposite direction. The railroader may hold an idealized attitude toward his family and show a romantic indulgence toward their whims.

The lack of time planning is especially hard on the wife. She must plan her meals so that she can serve her husband at any time of the day, with little notice. She must discipline the children herself; she cannot threaten them with disciplinary measures from the father, for she is not sure just when he will get home from work. She cannot make plans to go with her husband to a movie or visiting because he may be called to work.

Other employees in the continuous service, such as telegraph operators, switch-board operators, and agents in small stations, face similar disruptions in their social activities. Many telegraph operators, especially those in small communities, get used to sleeping with the telegraph device in the same room, ignoring all but their own call letters.

It seems that the higher the railroader climbs on the supervisory ladder, the less he is able to plan his own life. The foreman is expected to supervise even night-shift employees, to meet trains, if necessary, regardless of the hour, and to be continuously present during the day. If, in his career, he reaches the office of trainmaster, roadmaster, or master mechanic, he is expected to maintain regular contact with both superiors and foremen, and to be physically present at numerous points. These "real railroaders" look with envious contempt at the comfortable "plush polishers" in the central offices, who work the eight-hour day, forty-hour week.

Implications for Counseling:

Although railroading is a declining industry, large numbers of persons are still employed in it. However, the counselor is less apt to be concerned with the deliberate selection of railroading as a career than with individuals who have been or are about to be laid off from railroading, and who need counseling in respect to other choices. An understanding of the way of life of railroading will help the counselor to appreciate the adjustment problems faced by the railroader relocated in another industry.

The Railroader, by the same author, is a classic in the field of occupational literature. Interestingly written, it conveys the "feel" of what it means to be in a specialized "way of life" type occupation, such as railroader, which has seldom been equalled.

The most important aspect of this study is its comprehensive treatment of a particular factor in an occupation; in this case, the factor of time. The counselor may want to use this as a model for seeing how, in some other occupations, one particular factor may be dominant in the occupation.

An additional emphasis in the article as well as in the book is to show the uniqueness of a way-of-life occupation; that is, one in which occupational circumstances tend to separate the workers from the usual social activities. Cottrell's analysis of this aspect of railroading may well be used by counselors in thinking about other way-of-life occupations.

Scope: Occupational field

Methodology:

This article is based upon the author's observations.

Cautions:

The information contained herein, although written more than twenty-five years ago, is a "classic" in the sense that it reveals those important aspects of a job which have significant consequences beyond the immediate context of work-- in this instance extending to family and community relations.

Theoretical Orientation:

"Time is an important factor in any social pattern. Social interaction requires time coordination, and to the degree that occupation determines time distribution, time limits all forms of social participation. As technology controls time for the railroader, it also determines the tempo and the interval of other social relationships and sets a pattern for the personality."

Cottrell,Fred W. "Social Groupings of Railroad Employees," in Man, Work and Society, ed. Sigmund Nosow and William Form. New York: Basic Books, 1962, pp. 504-510.

Description:

The "Big Four" craft unions of railroadmen tightly control the entry and advancement within their ranks. The training of the novice, in general, is purposely extended in order to limit the number of eligible promotees. Advancement is by seniority only, thereby protecting the rights of older men despite adverse economic conditions.

The career development of the railroad engineer illustrates the point. The beginning railroad "engineer" could learn the few signals and rudimentary technical skills required of him to advance into a fireman's position within six month's time. As such, he could then learn the remaining skills right on the job. The judgment involved in starting and stopping thousands of tons of rolling stock when a train moves at the speed of 120 miles per hour can be learned only by actual experience. As things now stand, however, the novice railroad engineer is lucky to "get on the right side of the cab in two or three years." It may take him as long as ten years or more before he can sign orders and can take a train of his own out of the yard.

Due to technological improvements and reduced demands on the railroads, little hiring is done. Those who do enter this occupation will spend long years of service in "extra status", waiting for the older men ahead of them either to move up or to die. "Extra status" and the regulations surrounding it serve to protect the rights of the older men and to delay the training of the younger men. "Extra men take out trains only when no regular crew has had the rest legally necessary at the hour when the train is due to depart." Another way of protecting the jobs of older men is by "cutting the board." The board contains the names of men, in rotating order, who are actively in service but for whom no regularly scheduled trains are assigned. If business is so slack that men assigned to regular runs fail to make the minimum runs during a "half" (two weeks) , the older men demand that the board be cut." The phrase refers to the practice of shortening the list of names on the board in accord with seniority. In this way, the craftsmen are assured that no large body of skilled workers, trained to take their places, exists to threaten them in the event of a strike or a lockout.

Advancement in the ranks is by "bumping"; i.e., whenever a new run is scheduled or a man is removed from service, any qualified man may "bid" for the job. The bidder with the longest service record gets the new job. Then, his vacant job becomes open for bids. The process continues down the line until it reaches a stabilizing point.

Although the wages are good, the job is hazardous, rewards for differential ability are small and uncertain, working hours are irregular, and working conditions are uncomfortable. Those men who enter the occupation despite the disadvantages evidently "are ready and able to make immediate sacrifice for future gain, ...value income above family life, and prestige and a sense of craftsmanship over physical comfort , and ... feel unwilling or uncapable of attempting success through the magic ladder of higher education."

The relationship of the various craftsmen is regulated by their respective craft unions. For example, both trainmen and enginemen work under an elaborate agreement. In case of accident or delay, the method for establishing responsibilities, the method of payment, the conditions of work and even moral conduct are set forth in an agreement. Petty domination by foremen, a condition that characterizes many industries, is reduced to a minimum. "The solidarity of the craft gives (the worker) security seldom possible to the man whose sole equipment upon entering his work is a normal brain in a normal body, untrained either vocationally or academically."

The Effects of Technology upon the Railroader:

As Diesel and electric power have made their way into railroad technology, certain skills, such as the skill of the boiler-maker have become obsolete. Other skills, such as those of the automotive mechanic and electrician have, on the other hand, become more and more significant. As the trend continues, the highly trained machinist is replacing the "strong back and weak mind" type of railroadman. The higher speed on the newer trains already has begun to show its influence by eliminating some enginemen who have enough seniority to run such trains but lack the nerve to operate at speeds over a hundred miles per hour. "Specialists...who have the ability to repair and service the new type of trucks and airconditioning equipment and brakes are already threatening to become an elite whose wage will give them preferred status."

The impending threat caused by technological improvement serves to unify the "Big Four" craft unions of railroadmen, at least on the surface. Control over the learning situation is just one of the methods by which their preferential status, high income, and security is maintained. Another method of control operates in the political arena where they fight together "for lowered taxes, for more 'equitable' regulation of buses and trucks, for avoidance of wage cuts, for more adequate pension systems, and for other changes that will tend to preserve railroading."

Under the facade of unity, however, there is a deep cleavage. Each craft sees the necessity of change but seeks to turn the change to its own advantage and avoid its adverse effects. "Diesel operators are paid tremendous sums per hour in order that their monthly checks shall equal those of steam-operated trains, thus adding to the operating cost of Diesels and slowing down the rate of their adoption." The shopmen, whose power was already cut when the high pressure steam engines were adopted, again witness the trimming of their forces and hours as Diesel operations make their way in.

It seems that, to preserve and protect their present position, the railroadmen must seek assistance from nationwide pressure groups which are capable of arousing public opinion favorable to their cause. Instead of exerting control over their craft unions to maintain the status quo, they should pressure political groups which are strong enough to influence the national government. Not only the local economy, but the economy of whole areas must shift in order to affect the size of the working force at any given point of a transcontinental railroad. Knowing this, the railroader is much more likely to look at the barometers of national prosperity rather than to inquire about local business conditions. Even when employed in a tiny waystation, the railroader's point of view is more urban than his neighbor's in this respect. He will examine events in terms of an overall picture rather than look to personal causes for the explanation of events.

Implications for Counseling:

It is recommended that the book, The Railroader, upon which this article is based, be read by vocational counselors because it presents such a vivid picture of the impact of the occupation upon the total way of life. In it, the degree to which occupations influence family life and community participation is described in detail.

Although opportunities in railroading have been declining, recent proposals for Federal aid for urban transit systems may open the way for new opportunities in railroad occupations.

In recent years, vocational counselors have been primarily concerned with laid off railroad men who have requested counseling in respect to job possibilities. The transfer problem for the train-crew personnel is a difficult one since there is usually a sharp loss in status and pay when they move into occupations for which they meet the requirements. Transfer to another industry is especially traumatic because it represents a change in a way of life for the individual.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The author's observations and personal knowledge of the railroad industry were the sources of information.

Cautions:

This study, although written some twenty-five years ago, is a "classic" in the sense that it reveals the subtle processes whereby the disrupting effects of technological changes are minimized in order to maintain the status quo and job security of the workers.

Theoretical Orientation:

"One of the most highly integrated occupational cultures is that of the railroad worker." Despite the railroadmen's geographical isolation, the strong cultural identities of the group are likely to be preserved. Confronted with technological change in recent years, they develop a complex set of rituals and rules in order to preserve the status quo, and thereby resist the impact of change.

RAILROAD WORKERS ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 910

Rodnick, David. "Status Values Among Railroadmen," Social Forces, Vol. 20 (October, 1941), pp. 89-96.*

Description:

The author's field observations revealed that among the various occupational categories of railroad employees (clerks, shopmen, trainmen, and enginemen), distinct status categories exist. The railroad clerks' cultural behavior is similar to that of office employees in outside industries. It resembles the lower middle class both in attitudes and incentives. In contrast, the shopmen's status appears to be analogous to that of the semi-skilled factory worker in industrial society. He is both economically insecure and frequently harrassed by the foremen. The engine and train crews share a great deal of their cultural behavior with the highly skilled technicians in outside industry.

It appeared that ethnic background of the individual workers was an important variable "in the drives for status and in the incentives that play a part in job satisfaction." A Jewish locomotive fireman, who in the status hierarchy of railroadmen is above the clerks or shopmen, for example, was ashamed to let his friends--mostly Jewish small businessmen--know of his occupation. He felt that the position of firemen would be considered in the category of apartment-house janitors by their standards.

Status and Style of Life Distinctions: The clerks who work in the white-collar environment are poorly paid in comparison to the engine and train crews, and shopmen. In terms of union activities, the clerks are badly organized and are the least union conscious among all railroad employees. The chances for advancement in this group are slow and precarious "since almost all of the important executive positions are filled with men who have risen from the ranks of those in train service and operation, while those employed in a technical capacity were originally mechanical engineers, mechanics or draftsmen."

The spending habits of the clerks tend to be higher than those of enginemen and shopmen. Clerks spend more money for clothes and live in better neighborhoods. They have fewer children than do men in train and engine service. Clerks feel that the college education of their children is almost a necessity. In contrast, train- and enginemen assume that they have fulfilled all parental obligations by allowing their children to finish high school.

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*Although this is an old study, it has pertinence because of its particular approach to an occupational field and also because of the possibility that recent proposals for federal aid to urban transit systems may increase opportunities in railroad occupations.

The clerks consider the type of home and the quality of their household furnishings important since they believe that these are the things which separate them from non-white collar workers and give them their particular status. They seldom belong to unions; they feel that membership in the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks implies a status identification with industrial workers. This is in contrast to the behavior of train- and enginemen who look upon the Brotherhood as their protector.

The clerks "develop an awe of their superiors that is by no means shared by the men in train and engine service," an esteem that increases at the same rate as the income of the officials increases. For the clerks, income symbolizes status. Unlike train crews, the clerks are not interested in improving their conditions through unionization; rather they take their cue from officials and executives in the hope of someday reaching their ranks. After long years of service, when their ambitions have not been realized, they blame their lack of education and the "pull" others have for their failure.

In comparison to the clerks, the train and engine service crews enjoy a more favorable economic status. Their pay is higher than that of clerks and the ladder of promotion is mapped out for them either by seniority rankings or by the opportunity to take qualifying examinations. These men are conscious of the fact that their knowledge and position are vital to the proper running of the railroads. In contrast, the clerks do not feel that they are part of the organization.

The train and engine crews have a different style of life than clerks. For example, they spend more money on liquor and lottery tickets but pay less for housing and insurance. Generally, the homes of these men are located in working-class neighborhoods, since they retain "the habit of living near the roundhouse and the freight yard so as to be within easy call." The homes are poorly furnished, with the furnishings bought at working-class stores. Interestingly, food is an important thing in the lives of these men. "Most, if not all, have become vitamin conscious during the past few years and food is bought with the idea of getting the most vitamins, proteins, and minerals for the money." The railroadmen spend little on their own clothes but will spend lavishly on the clothes of their wives and children.

The relatively higher status of train- and enginemen is illustrated by the manner in which they address railroad officials. "Wherever possible, men in engine and train service will attempt to avoid any reference of respect when addressing officials." For instance they always refer to the master mechanics and superintendents by their last names. Clerks, in contrast, address and refer to certain official as "mister so and so."

The shopmen at the New Haven Railroad are in an entirely separate category. Many of the differences characterizing this group are due, in part, to their ethnic background, and are attributed to particular circumstances under which they obtained employment. The majority of these men are Italians, Poles, Ukrainians, Swedes, and English, with a few Irishmen and Jews among them. They were hired by the railroad during the strike of July 1922 to replace the Irish, German and "American" shopmen who went on strike. Even at the time the study was made, these men were still regarded as "the strike breakers" by the rest of the railroad employees. Organizational efforts of the craft unions have not affected the individualistic attitude of these workers. The majority of these men learned their trades in the munition factories during World War I, or learned some skills while working on construction jobs during the building boom that followed the war. With the drop in construction work, they were unable to find employment. The shopmen's strike proved to be a boom for them.

These strike-breaking shopmen were responsible for a complete change in the status of the men in this category. Prior to the strike, the railraad mechanics enjoyed equality of status with the engine crews. "The foremen and the master mechanic were part of the 'gang,' so that a good deal of intimacy existed between the men and their immediate superiors. Apprentices and helpers were often sons of mechanics, engineers or firemen." Following the strike, the foremen, even though they had not gone out on strike, erected a definite social barrier between themselves and the new men. The strong antagonism of the foremen was based not only upon their dislike of the varied ethnic backgrounds of these men, but also upon the fact that they had taken the "bread out of the mouths" of their former fellow employees. In addition, the foremen were frequently held responsible for the mechanical breakdowns that resulted from the inexperience of the strike-breakers. During lay offs following the strike, the foremen actively supported the efforts of the company to eliminate a number of positions that existed for shopmen. In former days, the foremen had supported the men against the company.

In the status hierarchy of the railroad, engineers and conductors come first, followed by firemen, trainmen, foremen, and clerks. Train dispatchers and yard masters are regarded as minor officials; engine and crew dispatchers are in the same ranks as the engineers and conductors. Due to their foreign backgrounds and their inability to read and write English, the shopmen are given a status equal to that of a factory worker "who in Connecticut is known mainly as a first or second generation southern or eastern European." The lower status of the shopmen is illustrated by the fact that they feel inferior to clerks despite their higher income. The clerks are on equal terms with foremen and engine crews.

As a group, the shopmen show very little group solidarity, even less than is expressed among clerks or the engine crews. It was observed that while striving is of less importance to these men, they tend to have more personality conflicts with one another than do other classes of railroad employees. While engine and train crews tend to protect one another in the event of trouble, shopmen seem to get a certain satisfaction in seeing one of their fellow workers "put on the spot." Perhaps this lack of group solidarity is caused by their job insecurity.

Even in social contacts there is a difference that sets the shopmen apart from the clerks, and the train and engine crews. Chief clerks make every effort to be courteous to the clerks under them. Engineers treat their firemen as equals, as do conductors. Shop mechanics adopt the same attitude toward their helpers as their foremen hold toward them: i.e., there is a certain amount of mutual respect. In the social relationships that exist between clerks and shopmen, however, "there tends to be a certain amount of defensiveness on both sides which makes it appear that each is afraid of social domination by the other."

Implications for Counseling:

The part of the study describing the situation of the New Haven Railroad shopmen illustrates the importance of the vocational counselor's knowing the peculiar set of attitudes surrounding the work force or a section of the work force in any given company. That the impact of the strike-breaking lasted 18 years is an indication of the strength of these attitudes. There are few examples as dramatic as this one, but in departments of many companies, many similar episodes occur which affect the occupational adjustment and career chances of individual workers. A review by the counselor of an individual's occupational history should include an inquiry into these factors.

In evaluating an individual's success or failure, a correction factor may need to be applied to equalize the impact of the special set of social circumstances affecting his career. Age, sex, ethnic background, religion, disability, and social class all may be factors which influence the perceptions and judgments of occupationally significant others, to the end that the worker's membership in a particular group causes him to be perceived and judged differently than he otherwise would be.

Scope: Occupations

Methodology:

Workers in the New Haven terminal of the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad were observed during the summer of 1938. Interviews were held with approximately 500 railroadmen.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this study should be made with caution since it presents informaton about conditions that existed in one particular setting at the time of the study.

Theoretical Orientation:

The notion that occupational cultures exist and "that ethnic behavior patterns are the core upon which these traits are grafted" was tested in an empirical situation.

TAXI DRIVER ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: 913.463

Davis, Fred. "The Cabdriver and His Fare: Facets of a Fleeting Relationship," *The American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LXV, No. 2 (September, 1959), pp. 158-165.

Description:

"The occupation of cabdriver provides its practitioners with few, if any, regularities by which to acquire and maintain a steady clientele. The cabdriver's day consists of a long series of brief contacts with unrelated persons of whom he has no foreknowledge and whom he is unlikely to encounter again." Because of the fleeting nature of this relationship, social controls that characterize other service occupations are only partially operative here. This situation contributes to a preoccupation with the purely instrumental aspects of the relationship, namely, the payment the driver receives for his services. Since tips represent the difference between subsistence and a living wage, they are of primary concern in this relationship.

Occupational Culture: Cabdrivers have attempted to bring order and reason into their world of capricious events. Much of the occupational culture of the cabdriver is concerned with formulas and imagery which give the driver a feeling of greater control over his world. Typing of cab users is one of the formulas he employs in an attempt to predict the degree of tipping generosity of customers. These typologies include:

1. "The sport" -- A young man on the town. A generous tipper.

2. "The blowhard" -- A false sport who is a boaster and a fabricator of tales. He holds out the promise of a big tip but seldom pays off.

3. "The businessman" -- He has uniform habits and preferences. He is disinclined to partake in small talk. A fair tipper.

4. "The lady shopper" -- A middle-aged woman who is fashionably but unattractively dressed. Usually undertips.

5. "Live ones" -- Out-of-town conventioners and other revelers who tour about in small groups looking for a good time. They often give extravagant tips because of high spirits and drink.

The occupational culture also involves a number of "tricks of the trade" which are stratagems to be employed by the driver in order to increase the amount of the tip. Some of these stratagems are:

1. Making change in denominations that will embarrass the fare into giving a large tip.

2. Recounting of hard luck stories (e.g., catalogue of economic woes, poor pay, etc.).

3. Assessment of fictitious charges in cases where the driver believes that the fare will not tip.

4. Tailoring the ride to suit the type of rider he thinks he has. Some

drivers believe that this approach will result in greater passenger satisfaction and, therefore, bigger tips.

Conclusions: When the relationship between the server and the served is anonymous and of brief duration, it often degenerates into one involving corruption and extortion.

Implications for Counseling:

Most cabdrivers drift into the occupation; few seek counseling specifically in respect to this occupational choice. Counseling is more likely to be carried on with employed cabdrivers seeking to leave the occupation.

The superficial relationship between cabdriver and customer is highly characteristic. Although this is characteristic of service occupations in general, there are few occupations in which such close spatial proximity with as wide a social distance is maintained over as long a period of time. Such conditions aggravate the relationship. Cabdriver clients seeking counseling because of their dissatisfaction with the occupation may be aided by a rather extended discussion of the pressures implicit in the occupation. If they understand that these hazards are a normal part of the occupation, reactive behavior may be lessened. The importance of deep and satisfying human relationships for cabdrivers in their contacts outside of working hours may also be a topic for counseling. If the cabdriver's need for deep and satisfying human relationships is met in his off-the-job relationships, he will be less frustrated by the unsatisfying human relationships on the job. Counseling should help him to understand the interaction of these two sets of human relationships.

In contrast to the majority of cabdrivers for whom superficial relationships are frustrating, there are individuals who are able to endure only superficial relationships. For these individuals, cab driving may be highly suitable.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The relationship between the big-city cabdriver and his fare is random, fleeting, unrenewable and devoid of socially integrative features conducive to constraint. A regulative imbalance can be said to exist which, among its other consequences, is expressed in the preoccupation with the vagaries of tipping. So extreme a relationship suggests the extent to which practitioner-client controls in other fields of service depend for their effectiveness on the maintenance of a safe modicum of continuity, stability, and homogeneity of clientele."

Methodology:

The method of research used was participant observation.

Cautions:

The description relates to the cabdriver in only one big city. There may be considerable variation in occupational culture among cities.

Theoretical Orientation:

When service occupations in a metropolitan setting involve a transitory association between practitioner and client, we can expect that this relationship will be characterized by unpredictability and impersonality. There will also be a tendency for the persons involved to focus on the purely instrumental aspects of the relationship. The big-city cabdriver and his fare are an extreme example of this kind of relationship. Much of the driver's occupational behavior is explainable in terms of the nature of the social situation with which he is confronted.

TAXI DRIVER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 913.463

Miles, Herbert J. "The Taxicab Driver." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Missouri, 1953.*

Description:

The present study examined the effect of the occupation of taxi driving upon the driver's way of life. First, the factors affecting the interaction process in the work context were studied. Then, the taxi driver's way of life under the impact of the occupational factors was investigated.

I. Occupational Factors which Influence the Drivers' Behavior:

A. Bureaucratic Organization: Taxicab companies as well as the union representing the cab drivers have developed bureaucratic characteristics in recent decades. The taxi companies are concerned about the growth, improvement and efficiency of the occupation. The union is concerned about improving working conditions, increasing income, and providing security for the drivers.

B. Lack of Vertical Mobility: Although the bureaucratic characteristics of the occupation and the union provide means for vertical mobility, most drivers are not interested in the positions which are open to them-- porters, mechanics, call takers and dispatchers. They earn more as cab drivers than other company personnel.** Chances are slight that the drivers would become either union officials or independent operators. Union offices and city permits are few in number. The occupation is seldom used as a spring board into another occupation. An experienced cab driver would make a good bus or truck driver. In both cases, however, the status and income are the same as in the taxi driving occupation, and neither offers the variety and independence found in taxi driving.**

There are few rank distinctions among taxi drivers. The man with seniority may have the advantage of driving a better cab. The few drivers who hold an elected union office are regarded with considerable prestige. On the whole, the driver who is rather new in the occupation and the man who is an "old timer" are equal in terms of potential income, company services, union membership and its attendant benefits. In fact, very few chances exist for individual vertical mobility. A collective effort of the drivers to raise the status of the occupation is one of the few ways by which vertical mobility can be accomplished. There are indications that some mobility has occurred in recent years as the result of union activities.

C. Historical Development of the Occupation: At one time, clandestine contacts characterized the taxi occupation. During the past two or three decades, the demand for personal transportation has increased and the occupation has undergone a gradual transition from early-day practices to modern, bureaucratic procedures. This change has emphasized transportation within the framework of acceptable social mores. Indications are that the public remained unaware of such changes taking place within the occupation.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

**See Cautions section.

D. Occupational Stereotype: The stereotype of the cab driver pictures him as a reckless driver, a person of low moral character, lazy, unsocial, and unconcerned about community affairs.

E. Work Roles Conditioned by Stereotypes: The public expects the driver to be courteous and to provide the customer with a safe, comfortable ride. Some passengers, however, expect the driver to assist them in their deviant activities, while others subject him to derogatory remarks.

II. The Impact of these Factors upon the Lives of the Drivers:

In the course of the study, four specific behavioral attributes of drivers were found. A relationship between these attributes of drivers and the occupational factors appears to exist.

A. Driver Dissatisfaction: The data indicated that widespread dissatisfaction with personal prestige and occupational status in the community existed among the drivers. Much of this dissatisfaction was caused by the prevailing negative attitudes that the public holds toward the occupation.

B. Strong Bond of Unity among Drivers: The drivers seemed to feel that their security could be assured only by group efforts. They tended, therefore, to identify with the occupation and with each other. Three factors help to explain this cohesion: (1) all workers are on the same level in the work hierarchy; (2) they all want to defend their economic interest in the face of company domination; (3) they tend to act as a unified group when defending themselves against untrue popular assumptions.

C. Effort to Elevate Social Status: The lack of opportunity for vertical mobility and the negative aspects of the public image of the driver leave drivers with few modes of satisfying their personal and social needs. Many drivers attempt to raise their low status by stressing the fact that they are home owners, good drivers, friendly "guys," and just ordinary normal citizens. Some men appear to find satisfaction within their own group by emphasizing the " rank producing qualities of seniority, cab-ownership, driving a long period without an accident, and holding union offices or appointments on union committees."

Others, however, assume aggressive attitudes toward the public, the police, and the press. These drivers do not plan to continue in the occupation longer than they have to, nor do they want their sons to become taxicab drivers. When obtaining employment elsewhere proves to be difficult, however, many of these drivers remain in the occupation.

The effort of the cab drivers to raise the collective status of the occupation has achieved some measure of success. The occupation has moved closer to middle-class standards. The union promotes civic and social activities and has been instrumental in developing a new philosophy which stresses the favorable characteristics of the work. The drivers' having to wear uniforms during the winter, and the custom of tipping have tended to detract from their status because these two factors emphasize the subordinate characteristics of the occupation.

D. Desire to be Normal Citizens: Most cab drivers are not like the stereotyped image of taxi drivers held by the public. There may be some tensions in the driver's home life "due to the possibility of intimate association with women during working hours." There is very little evidence to indicate, however, that their home lives are abnormal. Data revealed that the drivers' chief recreational activities included baseball, movies, football, races, fishing, hunting, swimming, etc. Contrary to popular assumptions, they seldom visited dance halls or pool halls. One characteristic of the cab driving occupation that was found to differentiate it from other comparable occupational groups was the infrequency with which they participated in organized community activities.

III. Other Subsidiary Findings:

The drivers comprising the sample were found to:

1. come from large families
2. have fathers who had been manual laborers
3. have been manual laborers during their trial work period
4. have entered the occupation because they needed a job
5. have had no childhood ambitions to become cab drivers
6. have not been influenced by their fathers or brothers to become drivers
7. be on a slightly higher economic level than were their parents, but to be little, if any, higher in social status
8. have tended to remain in the occupation
9. reflect the usual Southern prejudice toward Negroes
10. obtain average financial security from the occupation

Implications for Counseling:

Unlike the three other reports on the occupation of taxicab driver, this report emphasizes the trend of taxicab drivers striving to achieve acceptance of taxicab driving as a middle-class occupation, and their working toward this end within the framework of the union. This particular orientation may be due to actual regional differences in attitudes, to the degree of unionization of the occupation, or merely to the framework in which the various authors have conducted their studies. Although Miles sees a strong bond of unity among drivers, Morris' study of New York City taxicab drivers reports the opposite. Either the size of the city, the degree of unionization, or merely the way in which the two researchers perceived the situation may account for these differences.

The availability of abstracts of four sociological studies on the occupation of taxicab driving presents the vocational counselor with the opportunity of becoming familiar with different sociological approaches to the study of variables which may be considered, and the strength and weakness of each kind of approach.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

A total of 232 Oklahoma City taxicab drivers were interviewed. Both directed and extended interview methods were used. In addition, four life histories were collected. The union contract and seniority rules, the city ordinance regulating the taxicab industry, and newspaper and magazine clippings concerning taxi drivers were examined.

Cautions:

Statements made in this study comparing the wages of taxi drivers to those of mechanics in taxi companies and to bus and truck drivers are not in accord with the reported findings in the Occupational Outlook Handbook.* If wages are reduced to the rate for a 40 hour week, the taxi driver earns less, not more, than these related occupations. Summarized wage information is indicated below.

Occupation	Average Hourly Wage	40 Hour Week
Truck driver, over-the-road	$ 3.38	$ 135.00
Bus driver, inter-city	3.37	134.80
Truck driver, local	2.89	115.60
Auto mechanic, taxi company	2.80	112.00
Bus driver, local	2.54	101.60
Taxi driver	2.00	80.00

Theoretical Orientation:

Work is conceived as an interaction process which affords man an opportunity to meet his social needs. The individual is known in the community by his work and his social world is conditioned by his work experience.

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*Published by United States Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistice, Bulletin 1375, 1963-1964 edition.

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: 913.463

Morris, Charles N. "A Digest of Some Characteristics of Occupational Choice and Adjustment in a Sample of New York City Taxi Drivers." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1951.

Description:

In this study, the author sought to enumerate some of the characteristics that influenced occupational choice and explained the adjustment of taxi drivers to their occupation.

Procedure: Semi-structured interviews were held with 72 New York City cab drivers. The interview data was selectively classified according to remarks that either (a) explained job changes, or (b) indicated a criterion by which jobs or work were evaluated. Responses were analyzed by means of a breakdown of the sample into various categories: (1) according to age (39 and under; 40 through 49; and 50 and over); (2) according to career pattern as a taxi driver (the"established"driver was defined as one having had at least five years or more of service; the "not yet established" driver had had less than five years of service); and (3) according to the type of driver (the fleet driver; the independent driver). Frequency tabulations of the remarks were made for the entire sample and, then, for the various sub-groups listed above.

Findings:

(1) The ongoing work perceptions of taxi drivers studied were characterized by an emphasis on economic values and the physical conditions of work. In addition, considerable emphasis was placed on values other than economic ones and on the importance of having an interesting job.

(2) At the time of job change, the ongoing work perceptions of these drivers underwent reorganization. In the reorganization process, the need to make a living was the dominant theme and all other values were suppressed.

(3) Among the various sub-groups, the ongoing work perceptions of drivers showed little variation.

(4) There was less reorganization of work perception when the job change was made early in life in contrast to that which occurred when job changes were made at a later period in life. The reorganization of work perceptions early in the working life was characterized by an effort to fulfill work ideals. It appeared that when the job changes were made in later life, the reorganization of work perceptions was entirely concerned with the need to make a living.

(5) Established drivers who had entered the occupation after 25 years of age perceived their job changes in a manner that was similar to that of individuals who had made early job changes; economic values received less emphasis and the importance of interesting work was cited rather frequently. Such perceptions of work differed from those of all other categories of established cab drivers--that is, those who had entered the occupation after being in another occupation for at least ten years, and those who had entered the taxi driving occupation at age 25 or earlier.

Interpretation:

The emphasis on economic values was accounted for by "the strength of subcultural attitudes and values, and by the early need on the part of most drivers to leave school and earn a living." The importance of other than monetary values reflected in the ongoing perceptions of work "was seen as a result of early exposure ...to the American tradition of occupational and social mobility...and of continued reinforcement of these values through exposure to passengers whose values are organized around this tradition."

It was apparent that these drivers were aware of their limited work assets, and this awareness further strengthened their concern with making a living. The fact that the younger men were probably free of family responsibilities and were more employable by virtue of their age explained "the active search early in life for work which would satisfy rather fully their work perceptions." That their search was poorly organized may be explained by the fact that these young men failed to realize the need to postpone immediate gratifications in order to achieve such work values. Family responsibilities of men were seen as factors which terminated the search for self-fulfillment in work.

On the basis of the interview data, i.e., perceptions of advantages and disadvantages, the judgment was made that "early search for self-fulfillment in work had not been rewarded by the selection of taxi driving as an occupation." Although the older drivers had retained a set of work ideals, they had given up their attempts to achieve them. The drivers' passing on of work ideals to their sons and the independence presumably afforded them by the occupation served as compensation for the frustrations of the work and were seen as factors facilitating their adjustment. In the author's opinion, a considerable number of the taxi drivers studied were reasonably well satisfied with their work and did not appear to be maladjusted.

Those cab drivers who entered the occupation late in life and still sought self-fulfillment in work were seen as individuals who were pursuing vague occupational goals and were inadequately assessing reality factors in relation to their work.

Theoretical Framework Used in the Assessment of the Findings: Three major assumptions guided the evaluation of the findings:

(1) "The manner in which an individual perceives work is a major determinant of the manner in which he chooses jobs and adjusts to specific jobs and to working life in general."

(2) The frequency with which remarks fall within a particular category is an indication of the criterion by which the individual evaluates work. For example, the categories of remarks explaining job changes suggest the manner in which the individual's work perceptions are organized at the time of change.

(3) The occupational perceptions of individuals, as discussed above, display sufficient over-all similarity to make the description of occupational per-

ceptions of groups, in general, meaningful.

Subjective Impressions:

It appeared that the early occupational choice process of some drivers was characterized by ill-organized efforts directed toward gaining the most satisfactory work ideals. When the person failed to achieve these ideals in a given job, he left it. He rarely examined his next job in advance in terms of its meeting his criteria for work satisfaction. By the time such a person had reached his late twenties or even before this time, he was settling down, apparently influenced by family responsibilities and the awareness that with increasing age there would be less freedom to shift jobs.

The drivers who had settled on other jobs first were probably forced later by economic conditions to enter taxi driving. Taxi driving is a job that is still relatively easy to obtain. Other drivers probably had learned to adjust to work situations in their adolescence. They realized that they had to conform to the boss's expectations in the work context. For these individuals, taxi driving remained interesting and challenging. Many had accepted the fact that little else could be expected from the work beyond the material rewards. Perceiving themselves as forced by societal limitations to stay within a certain range of jobs, and being aware that one must accumulate experience in some line of work to guard against layoff in middle age, these men had "adjusted" and they had come to accept the limitations imposed upon them by their lack of general education or specialized training. They found satisfaction in being viewed as men who could support their families and who knew something about life in the city.

Some General Comments on Occupational Choice and Adjustment:

Apparently, factors of chance play a more important part in the occupational choice of individuals who come from low income families than they do in the case of individuals who come from higher income families. In all instances, however, some self-evaluation in terms of work takes place and some freedom of choice is exercised by most individuals.

Perhaps the problem of occupational choice is best studied by examining the objective limitations placed upon freedom of choice and the perception of such limitations by the individuals involved.

How much emphasis the driver may place on the idea of driving a cab solely because it is a means of earning a living (and nothing else) probably depends upon the current economic situation. In times of depression, it appeared that merely being employed became an important factor for many workers, and the consideration of other incentives was temporarily suspended, or at least was modified. In time of full employment, however, increased freedom of choice may result in greater regard for subjective consideration in the choice of an occupation and in adjustment to work.

Implications for Counseling:

We are fortunate in having several studies of taxi drivers which enable counselors to compare different styles of sociological analysis of occupations. In this one, the emphasis is on the career pattern, vocational self concepts, and vocational choice decisions pertinent to entering the occupation.

Most indications are that the taxi driving occupation is more often drifted into than chosen. At best, it is a choice of the least bad alternative of several not too enticing possibilities. This situation is true of many of the lower level occupations.

Taxi driving is distinguished from other occupations of this level by the peculiar nature of the driver's relationships with customers and coworkers. Typically, in the large city, he has few continuing contacts with the same people, either customers or coworkers. This aspect of the occupation is probably the one which would be of most concern to counselors in helping individuals who are considering entering the occupation or those who are dissatisfied with the occupation and want to leave it. Often, unhappiness with unsatisfying human relations will be expressed in dissatisfaction with wages and hours; this is not to say that there may not be legitimate reasons for dissatisfaction over wages and hours. The counselor will probably need to work with the counselee in considering what the latter's expectations and goals are in terms of human relationships on the job.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Semi-structured interviews were held with 72 new York City taxi drivers. The interview content was analyzed and discussed with respect to various sub-groups. The sub-groups were established according to (1) age, (2) type of career pattern, and (3) type of driver.

Cautions:

The lack of a representative sample is not regarded by the author as a major deficiency since the study is exploratory in character. The specific findings, however, should be seen as applicable to only this particular sample, this specific occupation, and the particular economic and political conditions prevailing at the time of the study.

Theoretical Orientation:

"It appears...that the manner in which an individual perceives jobs and working life in general is the most important single determinant of the types of jobs which he seeks and enters, and of his adjustment to individual jobs and to working life in general."

See Appendix A for unique features of taxi driving in New York City.

APPENDIX A

Taxi Driving in New York City

The occupation of taxi driving in New York City is unique. The industry is not dominated by a single union which is usually the case in other communities. Working conditions probably are below average for the group as a whole. The strict police control over the occupation has probably been responsible for divorcing the industry from its previous informal ties with minor vice.

The New York City taxi driver does not have a regular clientele. He performs a service function, but beyond that, he doesn't have continuing role relationships with the group he serves. Some drivers consider this situation an advantage. In a smaller community, the driver may carry the same passengers regularly. Also, in the smaller community, the driver lives in the community in which he works, and he is known. Workmen in many other occupations of comparable status in the city--such as the barber, the newspaper vendor, the custodian, the grocery clerk, the counterman--all have clearly defined work roles in the sub-communities which they serve. Even the bus driver who drives the prescribed daily route knows a good many passengers among the regular riders. The job of the taxi driver, although it offers variety, fails to provide the emotional security that is usually attached to a stable work role in the sub-community in which one works.

As a rule, the driver spends little time in the garage. He has little opportunity to develop friendships with fellow workers which could have any degree of permanency. Stereotypes picture him as a rugged individualist who is quite talkative.

The uniqueness of the occupation may best be seen when it is contrasted with another semi-skilled occupation, such as the job of the machine operator in a manufacturing concern.

The machine operator is unionized and, as such, can look forward to receiving special employee benefits (e.g., paid vacation). In contrast, the New York City taxi driver is not unionized, and receives few, if any, benefits (e.g., paid vacations are uncommon).

In times of economic depression, the machinist may expect to be laid off the job. The cab driver, on the other hand, stays on the job, although he may earn less money under such circumstances.

Age is not a significant aspect of the employment, nor is it cause for retirement. As long as the man is properly licensed by the police, and remains an "average booker," he can "hack." The machine operator, however, is affected by age restrictions in normal times.

Both the independent and the fleet taxi drivers can increase their daily income by working longer hours. The machine operator may increase his income with overtime work but only if it is available. The cab driver is paid daily in cash; the machine operator is paid weekly. A good proportion of the cab driver's income is in the form of tips; the machine operator's is exclusively from wages.

APPENDIX A (Cont'd.)

The taxi driver works alone, has no close supervision, but lacks companionship of fellow workers by the nature of the job. The driver serves the public, a constantly changing group of individuals. His working hours are somewhat flexible, his eating times uncertain; and unless he is a steady driver, he can not even be sure that he will work.

The occupation is strictly regulated by the New York City Police force. Neither manufacturing nor any other legitimate occupation is controlled in such a strict manner as is taxi driving. Unlike the machine operator, the driver is exposed to public view at all times.

TAXI DRIVER **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: 913.463

Vaz, Edmund W. "The Metropolitan Taxi Driver: His Work and Self-Conception."
Unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, 1955.

Description:

The occupation of the taxi driver has its own particular atmosphere, culture, and occupational climate.

Recruitment: The work of the taxi driver is generally a refuge for the man without skills or trade who comes from the lower socio-economic stratum of society. It recruits the occupationally transient man, the unstable youth, the man in need of an additional source of income, and "the elite of the work world, loosely termed the professionals, [who] occasionally find it compulsory to perform work in an area other than that for which they were specially trained."

The work attracts some individuals who do not wish employment in the "big system" of work, "who fear impersonality and authority of the larger world of industry." For others, driving a taxi cab is the optimum way of "making a fast buck." The lack of authority, the possession of a car, the opportunity to make clandestine relationships, and the chance to simulate leisure time--all of these have their special appeal to people in this occupation. Frequently, however, taxi work will give stability to some individuals, who then purchase their own car, become owner-drivers, and remain permanently within the occupation.

Employer-Employee Relationships: Taxi owners within the occupation can be roughly categorized into two groups: (1) the fleet owner (the proprietor of approximately ten to fifty taxis), and, (2) the small owner (owns less then ten and usually drives one himself).

The fleet owner symbolizes management, whose sole concern is expressed with "bring me money, that's all I want." The fleet owner has little personal regard for his drivers; they are "defined in terms of their 'waybills,' [i.e., money they bring in each day] not as human beings." His contact with them is impersonal, direct, and informal. Only the spatial proximity and frequency of contact brings the two men together. Should the driver fail to meet the boss' monetary expectations, their relationship becomes strained. The daily immediacy of the "cashing-in" procedure, however, serves to mitigate a previously strained relationship. To a great extent, the driver's success at work is the basis upon which the relationship with his employer rests.

The fleet owner employs just about everyone to keep his cars on the road. His bad experiences with all sorts of drivers hardens him toward the employee. He will, for instance, make the employee pay for small repairs and for too much use of gasoline. He puts pressure on the novice and may charge the driver extra for not having achieved his monetary standards. He prefers to keep his drivers in debt. In case of an accident, contrary to occupational rules, he will frequently refuse to release the driver until he has paid for the damage. Often the fleet owner prefers to pay his drivers a weekly wage rather than a daily commission. By this method, he controls their earnings and insures himself against unforeseen happenings.

By contrast, the small owner is conscious of the operating conditions of his car. He will only employ the driver who will keep the car in good repair. For the small cab owner, honesty, responsibility, and reliability of the employee is more important than the waybill the driver brings in. He prefers the married, sober, older employee. His relationship with the driver is more intimate; by working on the same car, they share common experiences.

Other Relationships: A common characteristic of service organizations is to work in conjunction with one another. This enables members of these service occupations to supplement their income by recommending potential customers to each other. The taxi driver's contact and relationship with doormen, clubs, restaurants, and prostitutes is of importance, for each of these may serve as a vital source of revenue for him.

"The Cabbie Culture":

The cab driver's work rests upon a "basis of uncertainty." No matter how hard he works or what techniques he employs, there are certain factors which remain immune to his control.

The element of time has a special significance for him. His interpretation of time is influenced by the long hours which he must work and by the nature of his work. The longer his working hours, the greater are his chances to get a big "load" (i.e., fare). Thus, the work day of a taxi driver is frequently twice as long as that of other occupations. The normal shift is eleven hours, but it is commonplace to drive sixteen hours or more.

Time becomes critically significant when the driver has failed to achieve a certain sum of money within a given time. There exists an implied ethic which the taxi driver feels he should achieve. "If by ten o'clock I haven't nine dollars I'm not going to make my twenty to twenty-four dollars. I'm not at ease," said one of the drivers interviewed in this study.

Time influences the driver's definition of work, his passengers, and his occupational experiences. There are drivers who feel that every minute counts; loss of time means loss of income. He rejects the customer who, in his terms, unnecessarily takes up his time.

The cab driver works under pressure from two sources: (1) the compulsions he feels to make the waybill, and (2) the uncertainty of reward for his efforts. He believes that luck plays an important part in his work.

The notion of luck for the taxi driver accomplishes several functions. It mitigates the uncertainty of his daily work. When he encounters a bad day, luck becomes therapeutically significant in explaining his failure; also, it functions to account for his coworkers' success. One man, speaking of being unlucky, said: "If there's a car in front of you who gets a pick-up and the one behind gets flagged, right away you get discouraged. The other guy gets the call. It's just your tough luck for that day."

"Playing the stands" is the prescribed form of work. The stands, however, have other functions as well. At the stands the driver meets his co-workers and friends, exchanges stories and adventures and learns the "speed" (the average monetary rate of the business for one shift). For the cruiser (one who drives about the streets in search of customers), the stand is a place of rest from the strain and anxiety of cruising. Sitting and waiting on a stand is a matter of routine, is time consuming, and leads to boredom. The driver would rather cruise the streets where the chances for monetary success are greater. The anticipatory factor of success operates predominately when the driver is cruising. It may be that this factor constitutes a reward in itself.

The taxi driver's relationship with his passengers is brief, anonymous, and impersonal. His customers come from all parts of the city; they characterize the diversity and variety of the urban population. Although physically close, the cab driver and his customers are socially miles apart. For the cab driver, the customer has no personal identity; he is reckoned with only in terms of the tip.

The occupational culture of the taxi driver resembles a jungle where the survival of the fittest is the rule of behavior. He may not hesitate to use "jungle tactics"* in order to "make a buck."

Tipping: In the cab driver occupation, tipping is an expected source of income. The driver may employ several methods to influence the amount of tips. One method is to deliberately delay returning small change to the passenger. The time lapse may pressure the customer to tip since, otherwise, he would have to wait for his small change. Another method is to return two dimes and a nickel instead of the twenty-five-cent piece in the hope of receiving at least a dime. A certain gesture with the hand, politely jumping out of the cab and opening the door in bad weather--all are calculated means to draw a tip from the customer.

To influence the tipping situation, the driver appraises the customer by the look of his clothes and manners and then "sets" the situation to control the customer's action. He may start a conversation with his passenger or use any one of the other methods just described.

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*Jungle tactics include:

(a) taking a circuitous route, thereby increasing fare.
(b) purposely skidding the wheels in wintertime thus increasing the fare.
(c) neglecting to turn off the meter, thereby overcharging customers.
(d) relieving the customer of his money without his awareness--"the shakedown."

Driving: Most of the taxi driver's time is spent in driving, patrolling and scouring the streets for would-be passengers. Working in inclement weather and in heavy traffic makes him feel that he carries a great emotional burden. One man said: "It's hard on your nerves, it's a strain....The traffic, you've got to be looking all over, eyes in the front and back of your head." The car the taxi driver drives is not only his principal source of income but is also considered to symbolize his prestige and status in the eyes of his co-workers.

Occupational Language: The occupation has developed a particular language describing the work. It is accentuated by the continuous inclusion of profanity and obscentiy. It has been suggested that the use of filthy words is "an earmark of masculinity," or "comes from unisexual groups stemming from the lower income brackets and occasionally betraying an expression of defiance against social and occupational standards." (W.S. Moore).

The use of the special language serves its function. It segregates the members of the occupation from non-members and denotes the novice. Frequently, a certain period of time must elapse before the novice is allowed to successfully and acceptably employ the occupational terms.

The bulk of the owner-drivers, especially those older and service-oriented drivers, do not use the occupational language. The author suggests two reasons for this: (1) He holds a different status than the ordinary driver; therefore, his interests, values, and methods of work differ. This is reflected in the language he uses. (2) Unlike the novice, who learns part of an occupational role by using its special terminology, the older driver already has acquired a comparatively stable picture of himself as a taxi driver. He no longer needs the language to strengthen his sense of belonging to this occupation.

The Taxi Driver's Conception of the Public Attitudes Toward Himself and His Work: In our society, the taxi driver's occupation has low social status and is a repugnant role. The driver, interpreting the gestures, words and actions of his clients, feels that he is shown little respect. He feels abused, and he becomes hypersensitive and conscious of his inferior status.

An analysis of the interview responses indicated that the cab driver defines and thinks about his clients in more or less four ways: (1) those whom he believes are inferior to him, for example, the drunk; (2) those who critize his work; (3) those who openly threaten his self-respect, i.e., refuse to pay the fare; and (4) the police, a group which he seldom considers friendly. He develops a certain standardized pattern of behavior to deal with people falling into these categories. In the extreme case, he will retort with violence, thus betraying his definition of and attitudes toward the public.

Stealing: Doing the same work, meeting other drivers in the garage day after day, telling of adventures fosters the development of a feeling that ties the drivers together. The solidarity of the group produces common meanings, definitions of work, customs and attitudes. Stealing is one of the traditional, time-worn customs of the group.

Within the group, it is not a deviant behavior but is the principal and expected behavior of the driver while at work. The employers know of it, and they expect it to happen. If not, there seems to be something wrong. By stealing, the driver can adjust his daily intake to correspond with that of the group, can cover up for bad days or, by stealing less, can build himself up in the eyes of his boss. The activity is so imbedded a characteristic of the group that members make every effort to enforce its practice. The novice will learn the trick from the older drivers.

Although stealing is strongly condemned in our society, the taxi driver does not feel guilty or morally responsible for it. As the evidence indicated, the criteria by which he judges his actions are imbedded in his occupational experiences.

"Do you steal?"

"Yes. Everybody does, don't they?"

"Do you think it's dishonest?"

"I suppose in the true sense of the word it is, but the mores keep changing. When all do it, it's no longer dishonest."

Types of Taxi Drivers: The same job has different meanings for different men, depending upon their work experiences and their interpretation of the situation. In this sense, the cab driver brings his own interest into the work situation and creates his job. The evidence of this study showed that cab drivers have three distinct types of orientation in their work: (1) the service-oriented type, (2) the business-oriented type, and (3) the hustler.

The service-oriented type of cab driver is the older man with a long work history. He is primarily concerned with the quality of his work, and aims to raise the somewhat tenuous reputation of the occupation. He is concerned with the comfort and welfare of his customer and prefers the middle-class neighborhood and clients with whom he identifies. He frowns upon the practice of cruising the streets or playing the clubs. His preoccupation with and attention to activities of other cab drivers reflects his interest in the work. This type of older man usually enjoys a higher status within the group.

The business-oriented cab driver is shrewd and enterprising. His actions are characterized by deliberate calculation to make an economic gain. He usually drives his own car and is a comparative newcomer to the occupation. His indifferent manner toward customers, his speech, and his interpretation of the occupation reflect his economic self-interest.

Younger than his fellow drivers is the hustler who usually works for a fleet owner, often as a spare driver. This type defines work "as a high-tensioned search for the 'almighty dollar.'" The uncertainty of employment, the anxiety and despair encountered while trying to achieve the monetary goal, is reflected in the reckless manner in which he performs his job. Often he will use "illegitimate but technically efficient means in the attempt to augment the waybill" (will play the clubs, service calls outside of his area, attempt to shakedown).

The Self Conception of the Taxi Driver: The taxi driver is aware of the low status of his work and is unhappy about it. He hopes that his children will make good; will become doctors, lawyers, or businessmen. He feels that his present employment as cab driver is a result of his lack of sufficient education. The older, service-oriented men have grown used to the work, and they fully realize and express the futility of leaving the occupation. The younger driver, however, hopes that he will drive the taxi only temporarily, until he finds another form of employment. The owners of fleet cars find comfort in their definition of the position and the freedom from managerial restraints. The small owner, unlike the fleet driver, finds satisfaction in making a good living and in the material symbols of his success--a nice home and nice furniture. The cab driver often feels that the long hours of work interfere with his family life and preclude his having social pleasures that others enjoy.

The cab driver's occupation may be analogous to the professions in the sense that it affords him the freedom and opportunity of both augmenting his income and improving his self-concept. The price for his services is determined solely by himself and is measured in terms of his time, trouble, and knowledge, plus his definition of the situation. For example, he may charge $1.50 for moving a student from a third-floor apartment but will ask $5.00 for the same job from a seemingly well-to-do man.

The cab driver derives a high degree of self-esteem and self-confidence from his driving ability. He feels himself superior, apart from others on the road. He feel that his driving technique is unique, his knowledge inexhaustible.

Implications for Counseling:

This study illustrates that even in an occupation as visible as that of the taxi driver, a sociological report may reveal aspects of the occupation usually given little attention. Few reports illustrate as neatly the clear-cut and different occupational styles operating within an occupation, each utilizing common technical skills. Thus, the family type owner-taxi driver (particularly in a small town) has sharply varying attitudes and values from the fleet employee in the large city. The following comments apply to the fleet employee.

Since taxi drivers typically drift into the occupation, counselors are more likely to be concerned with clients who are employed or with laid off taxi drivers who want to escape from the occupation. That different attitudes will be brought to the next occupation as a result of the taxi driving experience is documented by this report.

Not to be overlooked is the possible suitability of taxi driving for the clients who, either because of settled personality characteristics or the temporary psychological needs in a particular phase of their career pattern, are too hostile, unstable, or restless to fit into occupations requiring more self-discipline.

It is unfortunate that the study did not consider vertical occupational mobility other than the sequence of driver to driver-owner to owner. It is wondered whether the drivers progress in an orderly fashion from taxi driver to truck driver, to bus driver, etc., or whether this is a non-existent advancement ladder.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Over one hundred taxi drivers were contacted for this study. Among these, twenty were interviewed more extensively. In addition to the method of interviewing, the method of participant observation was employed; the author worked for over three years in the capacity of full and part-time taxi driver. This study makes a special attempt to get "inside" the individual and understand his behavior from his point of view.

Theoretical Orientation:

The author, with reference to Durkheim, Hughes, and others, points out that "today a man's work is probably the most singular incidence by which others judge him and by which he evaluates himself." The work group, to a large extent, shapes the group member's behavior, for it imposes the group's standards and social codes of action upon him. The daily social experiences that inevitably center around one's occupational role establish the foundation upon which the individual's self-conception and esteem develop.

MINERS AND MINING MACHINE OPERATORS D.O.T. Code: 930-939
OCCUPATIONS IN EXTRACTION OF MINERALS, N.E.C.

ABSTRACT

Laing, J. T. "The Negro Miner in West Virginia," Social Forces, Vol. XIV (March, 1936), pp. 416-422.

Description:

The purpose of this study is to provide sociological data concerning the Negro miner in West Virginia. First, the origin, development, and present status of the Negro miners of West Virginia are discussed. Then, certain aspects of the Negro culture in the mining fields are described in some detail.

Historical Background: Negroes have been employed in the West Virginia mines since the early years of the nineteenth century. In the late ante-bellum years, Negro slaves were used in the coal mines and coal oil factories of Kanawha County. With the building of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, their population rapidly increased in the southern counties. The newcomers came mostly from Virginia and remained in the coal mines. Following the great strike of 1902, both white and Negro coal miners were supplanted by foreign immigrants. Foreigners outnumbered Negroes until 1925. Since then, however, Negroes have been more numerous.

The Negro miners are largely a migrated group, the majority of them coming from Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Georgia, and South Carolina. The main reason for their coming is economic--"the pull of higher wages and increased opportunity," crop failures, and bad conditions on the farms. The more articulate miners mentioned the better educational opportunities for children, and the greater personal and civil liberties as reasons for migration. Crises of various kinds, the death of a relative or a wife, and offenses against the law were frequently given as personal reasons for migration.

Functions, Wages, Mode of Life: Negroes perform both skilled and unskilled labor, but they rarely occupy a position of authority. The majority are employed in underground jobs. "Negroes choose this occupation not only because it is the most available of all but it is one of the most lucrative and provides the least supervision with the greatest amount of personal freedom in work hours." At the time of this study (1936), the position of mine foreman was the highest held by a Negro.

In the opinion of employers, Negroes are efficient workers. Race prejudice on the part of whites and the jealousy of other Negroes "have greatly limited the success of Negro bosses." Negroes were rated higher than whites in the positions of coal loaders and brakemen, and higher than foreigners in the positions of machine, motor, and tipple men. "They were considered inferior to native whites as machine men, track men, motor men and tipple men, and to the foreigners as coal loaders and track men."

The daily wage of the Negro miners appeared to be high; the irregularity of work, however, kept their annual earnings low. The group studied spent approximately seventy-two per cent of their income with the company. Their money was spent mostly for groceries, furniture, and supplies at the company store, rent, powder and miners' tools, health care, fuel, light, and for the "burial fund."

Coal development in the isolated areas forced the employers to build houses and to provide all other necessary resources. In these company-owned towns, a sort of feudalistic paternalism on the part of the company existed. The miners lived in these "company homes," the contract for which specifically stated that "they do not create the relationship of landlord and tenant but only of master and servant."

Cultural Characteristics:

The Family: The traditional, female-centered family pattern of the Negro, under the influence of mining conditions, approximated more the standards of the white majority whereby making the father-husband the focus of authority, the breadwinner. Around the mines employment opportunities were limited for the wives. Thus, by necessity, the Negro man becomes a more stable element in the family life than in many other occupations.

Birth rates for Negroes in the mining counties were found to be lower than for whites. Although the incidence of common-law wives among Negroes was frequent in the early days of migration, the Negro sex and family mores were slowly approaching the standards of the white group.

Education: The children of Negro miners were provided with comparatively good schools. The state spent practically the same amount per capita for white and Negro education. The children were taking advantage of their opportunities; of those between five and twenty years of age, the percentage of Negroes from the mining fields enrolled in schools was slightly larger than that of native whites in the same age group. The proportion of these Negroes attending high school was greater than from any other Southern or bordering states. The majority of the students in the two Negro state colleges (Bluefield State Teachers College and West Virginia State College) were children of these miners.

The race-conscious teachers transmitted feelings of "racial self-respect" to the miners' children. "The different rates at which children and their parents assimilate white standards create a wide gap between them; some are bewildered by the conflict of standards and family tensions increase." Many children saw in the mines only the opportunity for racial exploitation. They left to try their luck in other industries. Some succeeded while others did not. Those who did not succeed returned to the mines and increased the ranks of the discontent--the social type that is found in any social setting.

Recreation: The mining fields definitely lack recreational facilities. Most of the leisure-time activities of the miners do not promote individual or social improvement. Loafing, visiting, gossip, pool, checkers, and horseshoes constituted much of the miners' leisure-time activity.

Negro churches and lodges, as well as schools, provided various programs which were well attended. Negro musical organizations were prevalent, especially vocal quartets. These frequently competed for prizes.

Religion: Almost three-quarters of the miners were church members, the majority of them belonging to the Baptist Church. "All gradations between the extremely emotional, uninhibited, rhythmic service and that identical with urban white churches exist." The differential rate of assimilation to white standards created conflict even in religious matters. The simple Negro peasant coming from the South often complained that he could not understand the preacher. In turn, the educated and race-conscious minister was annoyed because he must "talk down" to his congregation.

Social Classes: Social class differentiation among Negro miners was based upon cultural differences, especially upon geographical origin. The Virginians and West Virginians considered the Southerners "crude," emotional, and "mean," and tended to avoid them. They found those from Alabama particularly objectionable. The Southerners, in turn, either became "clannish" or attempted to pass as Virginians or West Virginians. Other bases of social differentiation were church membership and, in some places, denominational adherence.

Race Relations: Relations with whites were relatively intimate and friendly. Race consciousness was present to a limited extent among miners, and to a greater extent among their children, teachers, and ministers.

Since, in this instance, the status of the Negro and white employees is almost identical, one may question the validity of the popular belief which holds that the white man expects the Negro to be of lower status than he, and when the Negro's position approximates that of the white, prejudice is aroused. In the case of the miners, it may be, then, that the white worker no longer expects the Negro to have lower social status since competition in the work context is controlled, and company policy grants equal treatment to all.

Implications for Counseling:

The rapid mechanization of mining operations that has taken place since the writing of this article in 1936 has obviously altered this picture of mining. Some generalizations, however, are believed to be true still.

The impact that occupational circumstances can have on altering anticipated trends (racial prejudice) is exemplified by the description of this field in which Negroes are shown to be assimilated with a minimum of white-Negro friction. This is contrary to the thinking reflected in some literature in which aggravation of white-Negro relations was anticipated as a result of occupational competition.

Since mining is a declining occupational field in terms of the number of workers employed, most counselors will be little concerned with counseling clients in terms of entering the occupational field. Their concern, rather, will be with counseling those who have been laid off or who are leaving the field because of physical limitations.

It may be desirable to present this information directly to Negro counselees as objective evidence by which they may estimate occupational opportunities. The too frequent conflict between white counselor and Negro counselee, each with different and subjective views of the occupational opportunities for Negroes, may be mitigated by reference to this objective data.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Personal interviews were conducted "with employers, miners, Negro teachers, preachers, and other persons. . . ." Those unavailable for interview were contacted by mail. These methods were supplemented "by wide reading, especially in the West Virginia State Library; and by the study of coal company records." Six hundred miners were interviewed, and forty-four operators, employing almost half of the Negro miners in the state, were contacted.

LUMBERMEN, RAFTSMEN AND WOODCHOPPERS D.O.T. Code: 940-949

ABSTRACT

Hayner, H.S. "Taming the Lumberjack," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. X (April, 1945), pp. 217-225.

Description:

After examining the historical development of the logging operations of the Pacific Northwest, the author reached the conclusion that "with those basic changes in technology that have made possible the increasing accessibility of logging operations the trend has been away from the transient 'boomer' type of logger toward the 'home guard.'" There are many old bachelors among the group of hand fallers and brickers in more isolated railroad camps; however, most of the men on the truck-and-tractor crews are married. "Domestication has, to a large extent, tamed the wildness of the early lumberjacks. The typical logger of the Pacific Northwest is no longer an 'uncivilized, unwashed individual.' Today he is a family man."

Historical Development: Since 1895, development of logging technology in the Pacific Northwest region has roughly consisted of three stages: (1) the ground skidding of logs to the railroad tracks, a method which began to decline about 1915, (2) the overhead railroad logging, a technique which reached its peak in the 1920's, and (3) the truck-and-tractor logging which began on a small scale around 1920 and greatly increased after the 1930's.

Each stage of development was characterized by its particular work and living environment as well as by the peculiarities of men attracted to this occupation. The first stage created the so-called "stag camps." The second type of development produced the large "family camp" or company town. The third phase encouraged the growth of "communities of independent families."

Some of the workingmen in the early days were immigrants from the Scandinavian countries or from Austria. The loggers of this era were the single, homeless men living in the "bunkhouses," sleeping on beds made of wood and softened slightly with straw. There were only a few families living along the railroad tracks in little shacks. The big I.W.W. strike in 1917 marked the end of this type of life. Thereafter, the companies agreed to provide more comfortable living accommodations for their workers.

The loggers in the first phase of development were the "boomers" or "short stakers," men who were on the move all the time. At Camp 7, where the author worked in 1912, "the principal objective was to make a 'stake' and then go on a spree....They would work a few weeks at Camp 7, go on a binge, and then work a short time in another camp." The men would usually work until the Fourth of July or Christmas, traditional big holidays in the industry, then go to such cities as Olympia, Aberdeen, and Seattle, where they would spend money lavishly on liquor and women. The loggers were welcome to spend their money in these places, but socially they were regarded as outcasts.

Findings: The field visit of the author to several logging operations in 1944 revealed some of the changes that took place in the industry. Due to the manpower shortage created by World War II, women replaced men to some extent in the saw mills, but only to a limited extent in the woods. The next effect of the war seemed to be an increase in the median age of the worker.

The stag camps of the 1940's were found in the more inaccessible railroad locations. Unlike before, the majority of men in these camps were now married. Some of the married loggers maintained their homes completely away from the camp or company town; others commuted home every Saturday, arriving in time to do the shopping. The author noted that families of these men tended to be "matricentric," i.e., the mother managed everything.

Conditions in these camps have greatly improved since the early days. The food, containing five to six thousand calories daily, is now served in dining rooms by female "flunkies," known as "jills."

Some companies encouraged the development of family camps or company towns where the married workers stayed with their families. "The men /were/ taken out sixteen miles or more by train or speeder to a variety of points on the big project and /were/ brought back to their families at night." Provisions for single workers were made at the "Tavern." Approximately three-fourths of the men were married, a greater proportion than in the earlier days. Although the companies provided conveniences such as theatre, library, club room for women, and beauty shop, the population of the company town declined in time. "Stump ranchers," men who lived on nearby small farms and commuted to work in private automobiles, began working for the company.

The people of the campany town had no roots in the community; consequently, they had little interest in, or feeling of responsibility for improving conditions in the town. Frequently, the neighboring communities resented having to share their schools with the "roughnecks" of the family camp.

Improvements in truck-and-tractor design facilitated the technological shift from overhead railroad logging to the truck-and-tractor method. The growing interest in scientific forestry and tree harvesting attracted a different sort of man to the industry than the "come and go" shiftless type of the early days. Now, most of the loggers are married men, taking interest in their homes and farms. The married men fit into trucking splendidly. They drive home from work, the children attend public schools, and the wives are active in parent-teacher groups.

"The town of Forks, located between the northwest corner of Olympic National Park and the Pacific Ocean," is an example of the growing community of independent logger families. The workers of this town support the community institutions with varied interest. Although the two small churches do not receive much attention, there is a small group of faithful worshippers among the lumbermen who attend regularly.

The author noted that the loggers encourage their children to complete a high school education, although very few of them will enter college.

Along with movies, drinking is still the major form of recreation for the lumberman and his family. Families who do not drink feel isolated. "Single men make up a small proportion of the logger population in Forks, but a large proportion of those who drink excessively."

The community has a high accident rate. This is, in part, characteristic of the occupation of logging. Fatalism seems to be a dominant philosophy, not only among loggers, but among their wives and children. Some of the wives are dissatisfied. There is little social life.

Sheer necessity makes the family more integrated. Contrary to earlier findings, it seems that in Forks, at least, the worker is actively the head of the family.

Implications for Counseling:

This occupational field is an interesting illustration of the effect that technological changes can have on the style of life and the type of worker attracted to the industry. As the work has changed, so has the type of worker and his style of life. The changes are summarized as follows:

Period	Technology	Work Location	Style of Life as Reflected by Marital Status
Prior to 1915	Ground skidding logs	Remote	Unmarried; logging camps
1920's	Overhead railroad logging	Semi-remote	75% married; company towns
Current	Truck-and-tractor logging	Accessible	Married; independent residences

A similar model of analysis may be applied to other occupations. This, in turn, can be related to the life style needs of the counselees. Life style needs vary not only among individuals but also in respect to the individual according to the point at which he is in his career pattern.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Through the assistance of the U.S. Forest Service, the author spent twenty-seven days during 1944 in the field. Nine logging operations of various sizes and types were visited. Loggers and their wives were interviewed informally on the job or in their homes.

Cautions:

Findings of this report are based on the somewhat unsystematic observations of the author.

COMPOSITOR I	D.O.T. Code: 973.381
LINOTYPE OPERATOR	650.582
MONOTYPE-KEYBOARD OPERATOR	650.582
NEWSPAPER BUNDLER	920.887

ABSTRACT

Goldstein, David H., M.D., and Hulsart, C. Raymond. "Automation: A Clinical Study," Journal of Occupational Medicine, Vol. VI, No. 4 (April, 1964), pp. 169-173.

Description:

This article discussed the impact of automation as it affected The New York Times' production processes and the employees connected with them.

Until a few years ago, automation had made few advances in the newspaper industry. Papers were printed, by and large, in much the same way as they had been for generations. Recently, however, new processes and new equipment have forced changes.

Since 1938, practically everyone connected with the newspaper has been a member of one of the various craft unions. Maintenance employees as well as some of the by-line writers whose names were well-known were included in the ranks of union members. The attitudes of the craft unions toward automation were varied. For instance, long before management decided to introduce some innovations into the bundling-handling processes, the mailers' union representatives foresaw such a development. It was mostly the younger members of this union who asked management cooperation to learn the maintenance techniques of the new equipment involved in these processes. "These men saw the possibility that if they were to master operation of this equipment, they might, just by reason of their familiarity with the equipment itself, gain for themselves some jurisdiction over some of the maintenance responsibilities which might otherwise be given to members of maintenance unions." In contrast, the ITU, the typographers' union took a different attitude. Members of this union were fiercely individualistic and deeply loyal to the ITU. When automated teletypesetters were first introduced, the consequent possibility of losing some jobs served to increase the members' union loyalty. When The Times introduced automation, it came only after an expensive plan was negotiated for the retraining of journeymen.

Facing the problem of automation was easier for members of the New York Newspaper Guild. Members of this union were not bound by old traditional craft lines. "For them there was no confinement to a singly given operational process in the total task of manufacturing a newspaper." Opportunities for job retraining and the continuation of careers were available in many different jobs.

So far, there has been little difficulty in the retraining and reassigning of displaced workers. Early in the retraining process, one lesson was learned, however. Men are not interested in a job guarantee as such. They want something more than just a paycheck.

What the men desired, it seemed, was the precise knowledge of what they would be doing in the new operation. Moreover, the employees wanted to get an honest and accurate statement from the management on the number of persons who would be affected by the new process.

Mental Health: Observations by the Medical Department of The Times indicated that the prospect of automation was feared by some people; it generated anxiety. The reasons for such an attitude may have stemmed from the fact that automation, on occasion, forced men to change their daily living habits and, in the process, disrupted family and community ties. In other instances, automation resulted in solitary work instead of membership in a work group.

An important problem raised by the introduction of automation concerned the adaptability of men to change. Although some men showed an incredible adaptability to change in the pilot experience at The Times, some individuals were just unable to adapt themselves to the new work processes. Aside from those few persons whose susceptibility to stress was known to the Medical Department and who were expected to show resistance, there were individuals who felt that they had passed the summit of their working life. These people were in the 45-65 age bracket. Generally, this age group was inclined to struggle to maintain the status quo in the face of change.

There were a number of older workers who feared that they would lose face among their coworkers if they were to fail the retraining program. Other older workers, in contrast, found the retraining program challenging and exciting and were flexible and youthful in their attitudes and adaptation.

Another important change brought about by automation was concerned with the workers' self-conceptions. "The individual in a change to an automated process can improve his self-image or damage it." Comments by one of the teletype-setting (TTS) trainees described the problem well:

> ...Now that the zest of the new TTS challenge has worn off, I think a general feeling of letdown has affected many of our compositors. ...The prospect of going into TTS changes my whole image of myself for the worse. I am an all-around compositor, a Linotype operator, a handman, and a proofreader, but once I go into TTS, I become just a glorified typist whose work there is confusing, confining, and routine. I can no longer think of myself as a versatile craftsman.

Additional factors, implied but not expressed, were the loss of control over the work pace and the fear of depersonalization.

Some linotypists enjoyed having the freedom to work rapidly when they so desired and then to be able to take periods of relaxed "coasting." They loved their machines as long as they had control over them--just as one loves an automobile. When they felt that they had to keep pace with a machine speed which was set by the management, they felt tyrannized by the TTS machines. "They not only lost their fondness for the machine but they felt as if they were an appendage to the 'monster' and, in this psychological transformation, they also felt depersonalized in their self-image."

In contrast, the new TTS operators showed strong feelings of group identity and common purpose. They conceived of the new operation as an exciting challenge. How long this feeling would continue into the future, would depend, to some extent, on the management. Formerly the linotype operators worked in solo fashion. Many of the operators who transferred to TTS were placed in a group where they worked together as a team. They enjoyed the new environment. Similarly, in the mail room, the automated equipment had eliminated the simple, boring, repetitive operations, and, thereby, had improved the work attitudes, self-image and self-expression of employees.

The changes to automation brought about significant differences in the physical demands of the work. Since some of the automated jobs were physically less demanding, job opportunities for physically-handicapped personnel expanded. The change at the factory level involved a shift from heavy manual work to skilled light work and secretarial activity. The limitation in physical activity imposed upon the men who had been accustomed to working hard and to obtaining a tangible satisfaction from the expenditure of physical energy, raised problems. It was felt that opportunities for physical activity in leisure recreation had to be expanded in order to compensate for the workers' loss of physical activity on the job.

Implications for Counseling:

An increasing counseling responsibility is the adjustment problems of workers whose jobs have been changed as a result of the automation process. To understand the feelings that accompany the changes, studies such as this one are helpful, as is listening to what clients going through the changes have to say. To know the physical setting for the new arrangements, counselors need to visit automated plants. From these experiences, counselors are able to gain knowledge which will enable them to help clients reach a better understanding of what is happening to them, how other workers have reacted to these changes, and what alternatives are available in making a new adjustment.

Counselors need to be particularly alert to the changing social situation of new work settings. In the process of change, clients may be either deprived of previously supporting work groups or they may be introduced to much more supporting work groups than they had enjoyed in the past. In reporting their experiences, clients are likely to attribute satisfactions or dissatisfactions to the job duties themselves when such satisfactions and dissatisfactions may actually stem from the work group situation.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The Medical Department of The New York Times conducted a "pilot experience" which afforded the opportunity to view the mental health aspects of the problems caused by automation.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this study should be made with caution since the information it presents pertains to only one situation at one particular time.

MANAGERIAL AND OFFICIAL OCCUPATIONS
FOREMEN **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Coates, Charles H., and Pellegrin, Roland J. "Executives and Supervisors: Contrasting Self-Conceptions and Conceptions of Each Other," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (April, 1957), pp. 217-220.

Description:

Top level executives and first line supervisors in the same or similar occupational environments were asked to appraise their own and each others' personal attributes. Among the personal qualities which executives attributed to themselves were: a strong drive for achievement, a high upward mobility drive, a sympathetic conception of authority, an ability to organize, decisiveness, a strong sense of self-identity and self-integration, aggressiveness, and a strong sense of reality.

Executives appraised supervisors in terms of these qualities and saw them as possessing these attributes to a lesser degree. Executives felt that supervisors had less energy, alertness and initiative, and had more submissive attitudes. Comparing themselves with first line supervisors, they saw themselves as being more understanding of others; having more ability to get along with and manipulate people; possessing greater willingness to assume responsibilities, better judgment, foresight and problem solving ability, and more adaptability to changing situations.

When asked to give their conceptions of the disadvantages associated with a high organizational position, executives mentioned: (1) the adverse effect of a pressure environment on personal health; (2) worry; (3) lack of time for recreation and leisure; (4) insufficient opportunity for normal family life; (5) loneliness associated with an isolated position; (6) the feeling that hard work would lead to more hard work; and (7) the constant fear of making wrong decisions, etc.

When asked to compare themselves with executives, first line supervisors generally tended to ascribe to executives the same personal attributes which executives had described themselves as having. In addition, supervisors tended to be acutely aware of the limitations of their socio-cultural backgrounds, education and training, and occupational opportunities. When asked if they would like to become top executives if they were given an opportunity to start all over again, supervisors stated emphatically that they would *not*. The usual reasons given for this response were "too many worries, headaches and responsibilities." The first line supervisors were aware of their own personal limitations and also the disadvantages associated with the executive role.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counseling is more likely to be concerned with choices among occupations rather than with the choice of how far to proceed in climbing the occupational ladder within one occupation. This study vividly presents the differences that exist among various levels within the same occupation. The counselee starting as an entry worker is usually aware of the differential rewards between different positions on the ladder but not of the differential requirements.

Although it is not always necessary for entry workers to attempt to estimate how high they wishto climb, it is helpful for the type of career decisions which must be made along the way. The American ideology holds that everyone should strive to reach the top. Since the occupational structure is pyramidal, only a few reach the top. Although the sacrifice of other desirable values in order to reach the top is a favorite theme in fiction, it is rarely discussed in vocational counseling.

Counselees occasionally will choose one occupation over another on the grounds that the chosen one has more advancement opportunity. With some individuals, this is an irrelevant factor since they have neither the ability nor the motivation to advance to the ceiling of even the occupation with the lesser opportunity.

Scope: Occupational Fields

Methodology:

Data were gathered by means of confidential personal interviews with 50 top executives and 50 first line supervisors in 30 large and bureaucratically structured business, industrial, governmental and educational organizations. These organizations were located in a rapidly expanding Southern community with a population of 200,000. The samples of executives and supervisors were matched on the basis of age and the individual's having held the same occupational role for a considerable length of time.

Cautions:

The sample on which these generalizations are based was drawn from only one community. The analysis does not take into account possible variations that might occur among organizational settings.

Theoretical Orientation:

Superiors tend to judge subordinates in terms of their own self-image. They also tend to judge the role performance of subordinates on the basis of their own role performance. Subordinates have role expectations of superiors which are similar to the role expectations that superiors have for themselves. Subordinates account for the discrepancy between their role performance and that of their superiors in terms of socio-cultural background and lower-level role expectations. In general, they do not care to assume high executive positions and the more demanding roles required of top level administrators.

ABSTRACT

D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Hubbard, Harold G. "The Career Business Executive as a Definitive Occupational Type." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1960.*

Description:

Within the framework of a theoretical model the selected attributes of business executives were investigated. These attributes included: career goals, personal values, job satisfaction, recruitment pattern, generational mobility, and career mobility.

The theoretical model suggested by R. Mack conceptualized occupations in terms of the degree of determinateness in role behavior, role expectations, rights and duties, and requirements for entry. According to such a theoretical model it was hypothesized that business executives would represent a relatively indeterminate occupational type, "inasmuch as the requirements for entry into business are not stringent and may shift through time and locale. Neither the rights nor the duties of members are firmly established. Role expectations and role behavior are wide in range and are relatively indefinite."

Several secondary hypotheses were derived from the main hypothesis:

1. Business executives define their career goals as primarily economic.
2. Business executives view their careers as a means of gaining entry into a higher occupational status.
3. Business executives' value orientation is directed toward extrinsic rewards.
4. Business executives express relatively low morale and personal satisfaction in regard to their occupation.
5. Business executives enter their careers late in life.
6. Business executives generally experience horizontal or downward intergenerational mobility at the time of entry into the labor force.
7. Business executives generally experience a high rate and broad range of positional career mobility.

Further utilizing the theoretical model, the author hypothesized that vice presidents fulfilling technical roles would represent a determinate occupational type; vice presidents fulfilling managerial roles would represent an indeterminate occupational type; and vice presidents fulfilling staff roles would fall on the continuum at some point between the two extreme polar type roles.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Findings:

Results of this investigation supported the general hypothesis that business executives represent an indeterminate occupational type. Each of the seven sub-hypotheses were supported by the data. The evidence also supported the existence of the intra-occupational continuum ranging from determinate roles to indeterminate roles within the group of business executives studied.

Implications for Counseling:

The theory of determinate versus indeterminate occupations appeals to this commentator as an extremely interesting concept. A great deal of empirical work would need to be done if it were to be applied to a variety of occupations.

This concept in simplified form might well be introduced to many counselees concerned with vocational choice problems since it is a fruitful method of analyzing occupations. Many counselors have been aware of this concept and have used it informally.

The development of occupations from an indeterminate to a determinate status is also of general interest although it has less immediate applicability to counseling.

There are many implications here that could be used in assessing different personality characteristics and needs. Some individuals need a highly structured occupational situation in which they may be comfortably sheltered. For them, the determinate occupations would be most suitable. Other individuals need a relatively unstructured situation in which to reach their maximum potential.

Many counselees seek vocational counseling precisely because they are facing a very indeterminate occupational situation. A typical example is the graduate of the general business major in a college of business administration. He looks longingly at the structured situation in which the graduate who is an accounting major finds himself. The tasks of the counselor are usually to point out that the field is much more structured than is realized by the counselee and to point out how to operate effectively within the structure.

Scope: Occupation

Methodology:

Names of 102 executives were drawn from Poor's Register of Directors and Executives, 1959. The persons selected for study by this method were employees of all of those firms within the metropolitan Los Angeles area which were engaged in manufacturing, and had a gross annual sales volume between twenty-five and fifty million dollars. The subjects were divided into three subgroups: technical, staff, and managerial. Personal interviews were held with each subject. The tabulated results of the interview data were to indicate confirmation or rejection of hypothesis formulated in accordance with a theoretical model.

Cautions:

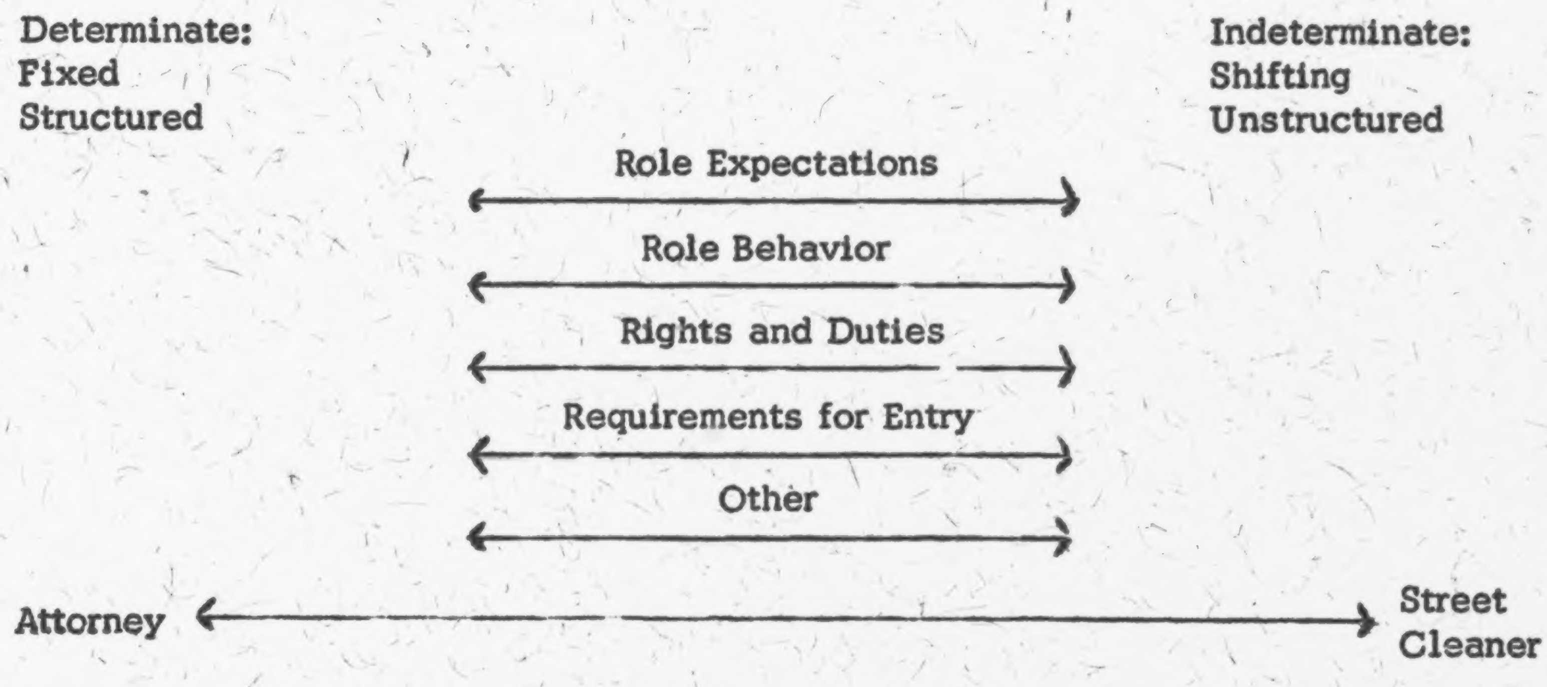
The problems of reducing the theory of determinate versus indeterminate occupations to an operational base is illustrated by the example cited. In New York City, the requirement for entry into the occupation of street cleaner is through a Civil Service examination, certainly a highly determined procedure.

Theoretical Orientation:

Raymond Mack proposed a typology for describing occupations and occupational roles. He conceived of occupations as lying on a continuum. On this continuum, occupational characteristics such as role expectations, role behavior, rights and duties, and requirements for entry are ranged according to their degree of explicitness and rigidness. Two polar types of occupational statuses were postulated in terms of this typology: "One polar type, the 'determinate occupational status,' has elaborately prescribed requirements for entry which must be met by those about to become incumbents; the rights and duties of the individual occupying the status are firmly established and explicit, and are recognized by the person and those with whom he interacts in the occupational role; the role expectations are narrow and relatively definite." In the other polar type, the "indeterminate occupational status," the occupational characteristics are less explicit. They may vary in time and by locality. Neither the rights nor the duties of the occupational members are explicitly stated; role expectations show a wide range of variation and are relatively indefinite.

Mack has postulated that from this theoretical model one can predict various behavioral characteristics relating to an occupation if the occupation's position on the continuum is known; or conversely, one can predict the position of the occupation on the continuum by knowing the behavioral characteristics of the occupational members. For example, attorneys can be classified as a highly determinate occupational type; street cleaners, on the other hand, can be classified as a highly indeterminate occupational type.

A pictorial representation of the typology is as follows:



Conceiving of the business executives' occupation in terms of the theoretical model suggested by Raymond Mack, the author postulated that business executives typify a relatively indeterminate occupational type. He then empirically tested the applicability of the theoretical model.

PROFESSIONAL AND
MANAGERIAL OCCUPATIONS — ABSTRACT — D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Katz, Fred E. "Occupational Contact Networks," Social Forces, Vol. XXXVII, No. 1 (October, 1958), pp. 52-55.

Description:

This paper discussed the function of informal contacts among professionals and managers. Among professionals, it is a practice to keep in touch with colleagues with whom, at one time or another, they have had working relations. Intimate friendship is not a requisite for the maintenance of such informal contacts. The contact may be very sporadic--an annual Christmas card, a chance meeting at the professional convention, etc.

It has been found that professionals and managers utilize these informal ties to find out about job openings and also to find out about the availability of personnel. For instance, if an engineer would like to obtain a position at a company which is located a thousand miles away, he will not write directly to the personnel manager to obtain information. Instead, he will first contact his former colleague who happens to be working for that firm. Through him, the engineer may find out "how the company 'treats' a man in his specialty," what kind of man his would-be boss is, and in which department the vacancy exists. It could also happen that the former colleague would inform him of the particular vacancy first.

The informal "contact network," i.e., this casual relationship with colleagues, is also used by the individual "to feed into it the fact that he is 'not too happy' in his present position." The individual who has some professional prominence then will find that job offers are coming his way. The individual who makes it known that he is "unhappy" may also use the contact network to strengthen his bargaining position in his present employment. He must be cautious, however, "lest his bluff be called and he is obligated to leave even though he did not intend to do so."

How widespread the use of contact networks is among the various occupations has not been established yet. C. Wright Mills suggested that a somewhat similar contact network is in operation "among leaders in the economic, the military, and government spheres of activity." It seems unlikely that a nation-wide contact network would exist among white-collar workers. "They lack characteristics, which professionals have, which seem to be prerequisites for participation in such contact networks: the possession of a clearly defined body of skills, and/or knowledge--by virtue of which the individual can offer himself on a market, and which he 'takes with him' as he moves from one job to another." It seems, however, that skilled and unskilled workers sometimes participate in informal contact networks. For example, the fruitpackers, usually a group of migratory workers, maintain an elaborate mechanism among themselves to assure the hiring by a particular employer of only those persons who are their friends. They seem to know the best locations for work, and often send a person ahead to this location where he then makes the arrangements for his friends to follow and work there.

It appears, then, that in certain occupations the "front office" plays a relatively minor part in the recruitment of personnel. The occupational contact group makes these decisions. The professional contact network probably spreads out over a wider geographical area than the contact network of non-professional workers. The latter group, however, may exert more direct pressure upon the employer than the former group does.

Contact among professionals may also originate outside of the sphere of work in such places as universities, graduate schools, and fraternal organizations. "The crucial feature of these contacts is that they are not necessarily of highly intimate, primary group variety; indeed, by 'primary group standards' they would often have to be classified as casual." It appears that a person who relies, to a great extent, on his kinsmen and similar primary group ties is at disadvantage when it comes to establishing oneself in a nationwide contact network. The person who can cultivate the "other-directed type of friendships," however, fits splendidly into the contact network. "In other-directed friendships, contacts are easily made with many persons, and the relationship is more readily limited to occupational considerations than in primary groups. This is of great importance in a society in which occupation is the primary criterion of social status, and career is seen mainly in terms of a sequence of jobs." (E. C. Hughes, "Career and Office.")

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors have traditionally suggested to clients that they use informal networks, in addition to the formal ones, for job seeking. This study is useful because it spells out, in detail, how this is done by professionals and managers.

It would be interesting for additional studies to be done contrasting the informal networks existing among different types of workers. The present study mentions the fruitpackers as an illustration of a different network. In this series of abstracts, the Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers" has interesting information on the job information network of construction workers.

Vocational counselors should be aware of the structure and ramifications of the network associated with each occupation although such information is not always easy to acquire since it is private, unpublished information.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The article was based upon the author's observations.

Cautions:

Generalizations may be made only with caution since this article, for the most part, reflects the author's personal interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

Elton Mayo and his colleagues have pointed out the importance of informal group relations in the industrial setting. Following their line of interest, this paper focused on the function of informal contacts prevailing among professionals and mangers--a hitherto neglected area of research.

CHEMISTS
NATURAL SCIENTISTS, N.E.C. **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Reif, Fred. "The Impact of Rapid Discovery upon the Scientist's Career," Social Forces, Vol. 12, No. 3 (Winter, 1965), pp.297-311.

Description:

This paper first examines those critical periods in the scientist's career which, because of the rapid rate of new discoveries and attendant changes, are characterized by the greatest personal strain and greatest hazard for scientific work itself. Then, the article describes how scientists who wish to remain productive in research cope with the pressures, and how they adapt to their changing situations. Finally, some comments are made about the influence of rapid discovery and change upon the institution of modern science itself and about possible implications for its future. The ensuing discussion deals mainly with the elite of science---those who make the major fundamental discoveries.

One of the most striking features of present-day science is the rapid rate of scientific discovery, verification, and technological exploitation. Bigness, visibility, and increased professionalization are concomitant characteristics of the rapid changes. Scientists in many fields complain about the restrictive aspects resulting from their working within the context of modern, large-scale research organizations or grumble about their heavy administrative and consultative tasks. It seems that the rapid changes can create situations of considerable strain; the very organizational framework, while it unquestionably enhances discovery, can adversely affect the creative career of the scientist.

The Early Rapid Period of Trial:

While still in graduate school, the prospective scientist becomes aware of the fact that he must achieve prestige in scientific work at the very beginning of his career in order to be judged successful. The evaluation of one's pre-doctoral work already determines one's future career choices and possibilities. Role models of the past and present further enhance the need for early productivity.

The post-war growth of science and technology has led the employing institutions to expect scientific creativity as a matter of routine. The employee's overt creativity is regularly assessed and rated on the basis of published papers or some other measurable output. Creativity in itself has become a popular subject. It is being discussed at symposia and is studied in specialized research projects supported by industry or the government.

The prospective scientist is confronted with numerous risks. For example, he may do his graduate work in a second-rate department and thereby diminish his chances for obtaining top positions. He may, even in an excellent department, choose his field of research in an area which is going out of fashion. Or, he might choose to imitate a man who is very careful in his work and, therefore, by virtue of being overly cautious, be slow in publishing results of his research. Again, the young scientist "may be 'scooped' in his early work by the competing research of more established men."

Those who fail to achieve eminence in the relatively short trial period become the "journeymen of science." The graduate schools channel these men into appropriate institutional settings where they still perform competent and necessary work. Some of these men become, at relatively early ages, the scientific administrators "who supervise the work of other highly competent journeymen and of less skilled scientific technicians."

The Years of Maturity:

The mature scientist is undoubtedly aware of the limited number of years he has to do his best work, since original research seems to be the province of the young man. The tremendous growth in scientific literature, the new discoveries, and the need for increased cooperation with neighboring disciplines create a constant, heavy demand on the individual scientist's adaptability. The editor of Science, in describing some problems of the mature scientists, made the following comments:

> Of the many factors which combine to diminish creativity in the maturing scientist, perhaps the most important are decreased motivation and obsolescence of his personal store of knowledge .... When the important problems are solved, a scientist should seek new interests .... He will realize, however, that his store of up-to-date knowledge may be smaller than that of graduate students.... (P.H. Abelson, Science, 141 (August 16, 1963), 597.)

Some scientists, in their attempt to cope with the increasing complexity and volume of scientific activity, turn to specialization and become expert in a smaller sub-field. Such activity, although effective for keeping up with current developments, is dangerous. The specialist, after a time, may discover that he is no longer in the mainstream of scientific activities. His field of interest has become trivial and insignificant when compared to the problems being attacked by the larger scientific community.

The scientist facing this problem may decide to shift his interest to an area that is more current. He may encounter difficulties because his knowledge and training may be insufficient for him to transfer to some new line of investigation, and/or he may have existing commitments.

The entire character of a particular field of science is likely to change significantly within a relatively short period of time. The time period during which the change occurs tends to be appreciably shorter than an individual scientist's career span; the field may thus become less congenial to one's particular skills and temperament. At the same time, however, demands for scientific productivity may remain high.

The structure of the scientific environment changes concurrently. The once solitary work of the scientist is replaced by team research. Large scale operations create demands for people to fill new roles as supervisors or administrators within the fields of science, business, or government. The cumulative effect of these trends tends to bring the scientist's productive research career to an early end.

Remaining a Research Scientist:

The expansion of science and technology has created many positions which absorb those persons who have come to realize their own limited ability and motivation with regard to creativity. To such persons "scientific research is a 'job' not significantly different from other high level occupations, a way of earning a living which offers money, prestige, and satisfactory working conditions."

As for the average journeymen scientists, there exists a great variety of moderately satisfying and creative work. Expectations at most institutions are geared to an average level of competence. There is a large demand for research activity and for persons capable of training additional scientists. Financial support is given even to routine research. These journeymen of science may have quite a stable career if they adapt to the situation by striving for average recognition rather than for outstanding achievement. Some of these scientists, however, even if overtly quite successful, may regard themselves as comparative failures "since they are frustrated in their aspirations to emulate role models."

The scientist who belongs to the elite responsible for major scientific breakthroughs may become dissatisfied when he "finds his field of specialization running dry of important problems." Such a scientist then may choose to carry on his work as a gifted journeyman of science or to prolong his useful creative life by switching into a relatively new and unexplored field in which he is more likely to make new discoveries. His background of experience may lead to fruitful originality in this new field.

Switching fields, however, is not easy, and there are no accepted channels in existence "whereby the ordinary scientist can contemplate changing his research activities significantly without encountering severe obstacles." The scientist planning such a changeover must acquire familiarity with the new field. He also has to compete against the young men who were trained from the beginning of their careers to work in that field. Moreover, it is still a question as to what extent the scientist is likely to be welcomed as an older man in this new field and to what extent he will have sufficient independent prestige to acquire the necessary funds, research space, and students.

Leaving Research:

The number of alternative opportunities outside of research are quite numerous. In addition to the traditional teaching activities, a number of departmental chairmanships and deanships are open at universities. Also, there are a large number of industrial positions ranging from section heads to laboratory directors, and a great variety of government jobs, such as consultants, advisors, and commission memberships. These non-research positions may be viewed as new additions to the traditional scientific career ladder. The administrative positions become increasingly attractive for those scientists who begin to feel less creative and less satisfied with their own research activities. As an alternative, switching to an administrative role is much easier than switching to an entirely new field of research. There are a number of accepted channels in existence which facilitate transition. Once the transition is made, it is irreversible. It is unlikely that the scientist, after being outside of scientific activities for several years, would return to research. Transition to the administrative role requires a re-orientation of values and aspirations. "For the scientist who has internalized the norms of discovery, and especially if he has earlier proved himself an outstanding discoverer, the transition between active research work and the shift into non-research activities is thus fraught with personal difficulties and great demands on adaptability. The transition marks a critical turning point in the scientist's life and career: his 'scientific menopause.'"

Trends for the Future:

The rate of scientific discovery is likely to increase and the consequent pressures upon the scientist are likely to become even more severe. The pressures will become a recognized characteristic of modern scientific enterprise. Corresponding institutional channels for the amelioration of pressures are likely to develop.

It is likely, for example, that expectations regarding scientific career patterns are going to change. It may be that the employing institutions and organizations will come to accept non-research activities as part of the "normal" career pattern, and the shift to other non-research activities will become an accepted norm. Such a trend "would imply a certain amount of age grading of the roles open to scientists, ...the younger being predominantly those entrusted with the task of carrying on research." After some lapse of time, the current role models of students is expected to change so as to incorporate these career shifts. Change in the role models would lessen the role conflict that many older scientists face today when they ultimately turn to non-research activities.

There is also a trend toward according high prestige to scientists occupying top administrative positions; especially to those who are concerned with major policy decisions. These men enjoy high status approximating that of the elite, the creative research scientist. The esteem accorded these men by the scientific community may not necessarily be equal to that bestowed by the larger community; nevertheless, "one can confidently anticipate that /the role of/ such a group of elder scientists, who occupy increasingly positions of influence and perform useful functions, will increase in prestige standing in the society at large."

Research is likely to become a matter of routine in the future and the time may come when it will share its supremacy with administrative and policy-making activities. The possibility also exists that policy-making and administrative activities may not always remain the exclusive province of older men. Young scientists may also strive for such non-research positions as a future career.

Implications for Counseling:

This is an intriguing description of the life cycle of an occupation and helps counselors to think of age-time limitations in career planning. Career patterns are too frequently presented to counselees as a steady curve upward when this, in fact, is not the case.

The scientific elite of the caliber described here are so few in number that they will rarely be seen by vocational counselors. Counselors are more likely to be concerned with the journeymen level of scientists who are individuals of great ability in comparison with the general population.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

This article is based on the author's personal observations and perusal of pertinent literature .

Cautions:

In the absence of systematic research inquiry, the findings of this article can only be termed suggestive of a trend observed by the author.

Theoretical Orientation:

The organizational framework of the scientist, while undoubtedly enhancing the growth of scientific discoveries, can at the same time, work against the creativity of the individual scientist. It is suggested that the rapid rate of scientific discovery and its attendant changes create considerable strain for the individuals involved.

ELECTED PUBLIC OFFICIALS
(State and Federal) **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Mitchell, William C. "Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official," Administrative Science Quarterly, Vol. III (September, 1958), pp. 210-228.

Description:

In this discussion, the author enumerated the sources of strain and conflict which are inherent in the occupational role of the politician. He also revealed some of the patterns of accommodations that emerged in response to these role ambiguities.

1. Insecurity of Tenure:

While no occupational role or position guarantees complete economic security and tenure, most occupations and/or specific positions carry greater security than those of the politician do. Even if he has some outside source of income so that he need not rely solely on his office for economic security, the politician still has to cope with doubts about the tenure of his position. The politician is dependent upon public support for his political power. The number of times that he can unify the voters into a clear-cut majority in support of his goals is not always predictable or certain.

In response to the insecurity of their positions, American politicians tend to adjust more quickly and willingly to the demands of their voters than to those of their parties. Additional responses designed to mitigate the uncertainties of the political office range from the public officials' clamor for increases in salary, and for pension plans to their attempts to exercise control over elections. They attempt to influence the outcome of elections by campaigning intensively, by gerrymandering, or even by illegally purchasing votes.

The competitive nature of democratic procedures is such, however, that no politician can ever have complete control over his fate. Forces other than those operating within the constituency can and do affect tenure.

2. Role Conflicts:

Politicians, as elective public officials, serve in a variety of roles: administrative, executive, partisan, and judicial. Conflict among these roles is bound to occur when various persons and interest groups continuously attempt to influence the premises and decisions of the politician to suit their particular purposes.

Obviously, those offices which involve the greatest number of roles will engender the most conflict. Offices such as the presidency, governorships, and mayoralities of large cities are likely to be the source of more conflicts than the legislative and judicial offices. In the case of the latter, the litigants and interested parties may have conflicting expectations, but the role of justice is so clear and is so protected from public retribution that role conflicts are minimized. Generally, the larger districts with greater heterogeneity in their voting populations will cause the greatest number of conflicts for their elective public officials.

3. Private vs. Public Roles:

"Politicians while fulfilling public office must also play private roles, i.e., roles without formal public responsibilities." The distinction between private and public roles is a convention. Behavior which is regarded as acceptable in private life may not be viewed as such in public office. A comparison of the role of the businessman with the role of the public office holder provides an example. The businessman is encouraged to maximize his chances for personal profit; the public official, on the other hand, is not only discouraged from doing so but, at times, is required to liquidate his assets. "The politician is expected to work directly and at all times for the public interest, whereas the businessman is encouraged to serve his own ends." The contradiction of roles becomes significant when, in reality, the politician must play both roles because his public office seldom provides him with sufficient income. Thus, the politician may live by a dual set of norms in which case he is faced with a quandry, for "to honor one set may mean the dishonoring [of] the other."

Another type of role strain results when the person transfers from one role to another and encounters difficulties in shedding his previous role in order to adopt the new one. This type of role strain occurs when such persons as the scholar, the military man, or the minister attempt to change roles. In the case of the scholar, the military man, or the minister, each role is sharply defined, and the supreme authority is clearly stated. The scholar is expected to follow the canons of science; the military man, the superior rank or office; the minister, the work of God. The politician is expected to honor the will of majorities. A person who suddenly finds that he is expected to honor a new set of norms and authority is faced with a very intense problem of adjustment. Education and experience may not be sufficient to prepare a person adequately for such role strain. Success in a private role does not necessarily guarantee success in public office.

4. Ambiguities in Political Situations:

Both the administrative and partisan roles of the politician are ambiguous. The ambiguity of the administrative role stems from the lack of knowledge concerning the means for action. The partisan, on the other hand, has difficulty in defining the goals of the community.

The politician's response to an ambiguous situation may take several forms. He may, for instance, sustain the ambiguity of the situation by stating that he has "no comment." In other instances, he may react to ambiguity by attempting to reduce it. Public opinion polls, newspaper commentaries, personal contact with voters, and reports from advisers are some of the other methods that politicians will use in their attempts to clarify an ambiguous situation.

5. Diffused Responsibility and Limited Controls:

"While the politician is often held responsible by someone for practically everything, he cannot control many of the variables that affect the outcome of the situation and its demands." Much of this type of strain stems from the disparity between responsibility and control that is embedded in the structure of the American government. Political power in its present form is so dispersed that "no one official is able to accomplish a task without the cooperation of several other officials, who may have different values and goals and may, in addition, belong to a different party." In response to this uncomfortable situation, politicians constantly attempt to improve their control over their domain. Proposals to achieve this end are always being advanced.

6. Time and Pressure Demands:

Politicians persistently complain about the number of demands being made on their time and influence. Local politicians expect to perform chores, and, it would seem, do not complain as much as do United States senators who expect to spend their time with matters of national importance. Senator Neuberger, as a newly elected state legislator from Oregon, succinctly expressed the disillusion in these words:

> I arrived at our new marble Capitol expecting to spend most of my time considering momentous issues-- social security, taxes, conservation, civil liberties. Instead, we have devoted long hours to the discussions of regulations for the labeling of eggs.

7. Status Insecurities:

Politicians believe that the public has little appreciation for the work they do and that it grants only low status to the vocation of the politician. The politician's status insecurity is caused, in great part, by the ambivalent status accorded them by the voters. He is never sure whether he has a position of respect or not. "If he is convinced that he has, he is still unsure about the reason for it." In attempting to raise the status of the vocation, politicians will often write articles in which they explain their usefulness to society. They hope, thereby, to gain increased public appreciation.

On occasion, status insecurity will cause the politician to quit his job. The writer of this article claims that he knows two individuals who participated in local politics but decided to quit when they felt that they had taken enough abuse from the unappreciative voters.

Sometimes politicians will form a sort of mutual admiration society to compensate for the insecurities encountered in public life. This sort of mutual support is illustrated by the politician who calls the contributions of another politician to the attention of the public.

Adopting a cynical attitude toward voters or handling the uncertainties of the situation with humor are two other ways in which politicians may cope with their status insecurities.

Conclusions:

Several hypotheses which might be pursued further are suggested:

1. The more complex a society is, the more numerous are the possible sources of role strains.

2. The more sharply the roles are defined, the more intense will be the strain of the role conflict.

3. In the American governmental structure, executive offices are exposed to more role strains than are the legislative and judicial offices.

4. Legislative offices are exposed to more role strains than the judicial offices.

5. The higher the elective office is--i.e., in terms of local, state, and national division--the more numerous the role strains will be.

Implications for Counseling:

Paid elected officials rarely seek vocational counseling as clients. Because of the vulnerable position in which elected officials find themselves, it is unlikely that they will reveal to counselors the kind of private information necessary for effective counseling.

This study is of great interest because of its clear-cut analysis of role strain and the various procedures for dealing with it. Since role strain is so often an important problem in an occupation, counselors may wish to familiarize themselves with this concept and the ways of coping with it. Insights gained from this report may be applied to other occupations.

The universality of role strain in our occupational life merits some general discussion with any client considering a high level occupation. It may be gracefully brought up in counseling at a point when the client is relating earlier experiences in discordant job or social situations either in relation to his experience or that of others. Starting with an illustration which the client himself has provided, the counselor may introduce the topic of role strain by asking the client to give his explanation of the discordant situation.

Until such time as teaching about anticipated work-life problems is incorporated into school and college curricula, this writer feels that such a responsibility should be assumed by the counselor. He is in a strategic position to provide preventive training oriented toward helping the client avoid and/or cope with the normal friction in work that arises from role strains.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"A suggestive facet of organizational behavior concerns the type of role strains engendered by given occupations or occupational settings. A neglected area of study in this context is the practice of politics as a vocation. The author uses role analysis to develop a conceptual scheme for analyzing role strains among elected political officials. Seven general sources of strain are suggested, and typical reactions of politicians to them are analyzed. The conflicts that often exist between and among the politician's several roles are considered, and the conditions under which conflict is most likely to occur are outlined. ..."

Methodology:

Data for this article were drawn from writings and comments made by U.S. elected

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public officials, supplemented by the author's personal knowledge of their situation.

Cautions:

Generalizations may be made only with cautions since the article, for the most part, reflects the author's personal interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

In the context of role theory and role analysis, the author presents a "conceptual scheme for the analysis of strains engendered by elected public office." The point of departure is the assumption that no person can meet all the expectations imposed upon him either by another person or persons or by the social system. Strain in some form will accompany the process of adjustment to expectations. All incumbents of a particular role are subject to the same role strains even though their individual responses to them may be quite different. In the case of the elected public official, the most likely sources of strain and conflict are: insecurity of tenure, role conflict, private vs. public roles, ambiguities of political situations, diffused responsibility, and limited controls, time and pressure demands, and status insecurities.

CIVIL SERVICE: FEDERAL SERVICE ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Kilpatrick, Franklin P., et al. Source Book of a Study of Occupational Values and the Image of the Federal Service. Volumes 1-2. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1964.*

Description:

Objectives of this study were three-fold: (1) to explore the attitudes of the various groups comprising the American public toward the American Federal Civil Service and its employees; (2) to analyze what the American public thinks of the Federal government as an employer in the light of today's occupational values and attitudes; and (3) to set forth, for public consideration, certain proposals and procedures designed to change existing policies and thereby enhance the appeal of Federal employment in the future.

The following material was compiled from personal interviews with adults employed in both Federal and non-Federal enterprises. In addition, high school and college students were questioned about their attitudes toward the Federal service. Patterns of responses were classified according to social class and/or educational level of the subjects as well as by specific occupational affiliations, such as teacher, student, businessman, etc.

Job Satisfaction, Sense of Progress, and Expectations: All respondents were asked to rate their past and present occupational achievements and to appraise their future potentials. The replies indicated that Federal employees belonging to the lower educational levels rated their achievement and future expectations equal to or above those given by the general, employed public with comparable education.

Federal employees who had had some college background indicated a much greater sense of progress and job satisfaction than the less educated government employees. Both the college graduate and the college-educated Federal employees, however, rated their past and present achievement and their future expectations significantly lower than did their non-Federal counterparts.

Occupational Values: In order to explore the prevailing array of occupational values, the respondents were asked to describe "the kinds of things about an occupation that would make it absolutely ideal" and "the kinds of things about an occupation which would make it the worst or least satisfying." They were also asked to rate a number of statements concerning such matters as financial reward, occupational involvement, status and recognition, personal relations on the job, occupational competitiveness, self-development, opportunity vs. security, sense of duty, etc. The results indicated great diversity in occupational values. While there was a similarity in responses regarding concern with financial reward, physical environment and working conditions, personal relationships on the job, and self-determination, the variablility from group to group was impressive.

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*These volumes were abstracted selectively.

The range of occupational values as described by the respondents fits into a consistent hierarchical pattern. This hierarchical pattern of occupational values corresponded to variations in the education, income and occupation of employed adults and to the academic levels of achievement of students. The lower one's education, income and occupational level were, the greater the emphases were on physical, material, immediate, and extrinsic values.

In both Federal and non-Federal populations, different emphases were placed on occupational values according to the sex of the respondent. Men tended to stress the "breadwinner," career-related values of the occupation. The women emphasized the socially-related values.

Teachers, executives, natural and social scientists, and engineers shared occupational values similar to those expressed by people occupying top levels of the "attainment hierarchy." Two basic types of patterns were distinguished at this top level. One pattern was associated with the type of employment or profession (e.g., executive, natural scientist, engineer). The other pattern was characteristic of the situs (i.e., place) of employment--for instance, college, business, Federal government. Both of these patterns suggested that occupational values tend to be channeled in a common direction, both within the occupation and within the occupational institutions.

Federal employees, in general, showed greater occupational involvement and subscription to duty than did their counterparts in non-Federal employment. The non-Federal employees were more concerned with manner of supervision and with personal relationships on the job. They placed somewhat more emphasis upon challenge, self-development and worth-while social goals. Governmental employees were less concerned with financial rewards and self-determination than were the others. Although they indicated slightly more concern with job security and income when these factors were considered in themselves, they did not do so when security was put in the context of being opposed to opportunity.

Job security, income, and similar aspects of the job were matters of only modest concern among all groups at all educational levels. There were indications that security tended to be thought of by employees at the lower levels as external guarantees by the employers; at the upper levels, it was conceived of in terms of maintaining and further developing one's qualifications and capacities.

College seniors, on the average, seemed to regard work as something which should provide fun and personal satisfaction. They appeared to be somewhat less willing to strive and to dedicate themselves to work at the expense of other things. This could be interpreted as an indication of a shift in cultural values, or can be conceived of as being caused by a lack of maturity and experience.

The Appeal of Federal Employment: In general, persons with better education, higher occupational attainment (i.e., income and occupation) and technical skills felt that Federal employment would seriously lower their occupational satisfaction. Those with less education and income, employed in the lower occupations and having fewer technical skills, felt "that government would not seriously hurt their occupational satisfaction, and would, in some cases, raise it."

Business groups were found to be less attracted to Federal employment than college teachers. College teachers were found to be less attracted than high school teachers. College seniors and graduate students felt that Federal employment, as a starting point in their careers, would have fewer advantages. Interestingly, college and graduate students as well as high school students noted little difference between the appeal of Federal government and that of large, private, business firms as employers.

The prospect of government employment appealed to the brighter high school students. This group was probably already influenced by the relatively positive outlook on Federal employment held by their teachers.

Among the various college and college graduate subgroups, a rank ordering of employment appeal could be established on the basis of the college major areas; engineering majors looked least favorably on Federal employment, the natural scientists somewhat more favorably, and the social scientists the most favorably.

The available evidence indicated that the Federal service offered relatively lower occupational satisfaction for the high level federal employee than it did his colleague in the lower ranks. The well-educated and well-placed civil servant would feel relatively little or no deprivation if he were to work for a private concern. This was not the case with civil service employees at the lower levels. Responses of this group indicated that they felt that their expectations could not be matched in private employment.

Respondents in upper level, non-Federal employment indicated that they would feel quite disadvantaged if they were to work for the government.

The Image of the Federal Government as an Employer: When the general, employed public was asked to compare their employment with that of the Federal government, they saw better security and fringe benefits as the chief advantages of Federal employment. Less self-determination, increased bureaucracy, and red tape were seen as its chief disadvantages. As the respondents' socio-economic level increased, references to relative advantages of governmental employment other than security tended to decline. The trend then was to cite the drawbacks of governmental work more frequently.

Top level business people held especially unfavorable opinions about Federal employment. A large number of these respondents felt that the pay and the opportunity for self-determination would not be as good in Federal employment. Other disadvantages mentioned by this group were the loss of drive and initiative, and inadequate opportunities for self-advancement.

Students, in general, had a favorable view of Federal employment. Many of them emphasized opportunities for interesting, enjoyable work, for self-advancement and self-development, for using good equipment and facilities, and "for being involved in worthwhile, constructive activities that are of service to others." As they attained college and graduate student status, reference to negative features increased.

When Federal employees compared their working conditions with those outside the Federal service, they mentioned the loss of security and fringe benefits as the most common drawbacks to those positions. Among higher status Federal groups, the prestige of the Federal service tended to deteriorate when it was compared with outside opportunities; this was also true in the corresponding non-Federal population. A great number of elite Federal employees believed that they would be better paid if they were to shift to outside employment. In spite of seeing negative features, the general as well as the elite Federal employees appreciated the positive features of their present jobs--i.e., opportunities for challenging work, self-development, etc. The authors concluded that

> the extent to which upper level Federal employees find these values in Federal employment indicates that there is a discrepancy between the way they perceive Federal employment, and the way comparable high level groups outside the Federal service perceive it.

The Federal Government as an Employer: Comparisons with Private Business: Respondents were asked to evaluate and compare the Federal government and private business as employers. Among the various subgroups (i.e., teachers, businessmen, students, non-Federal employees, Federal employees) the following observations were made:

1) Women compare the Federal government with private business more favorably than men.

2) Federal employees are more favorable toward the government than are people outside of it.

3) High school students hold more favorable attitudes toward the government than do college and graduate students.

4) Among people outside the government, respondents of lower socio-economic status are more favorable toward government than are those of higher status.

5) Among Federal employees, the prestige of governmental employment as compared to non-governmental employment declines as the socio-economic status of this group increases.

6) The executives, natural scientists, social scientists, and engineers in business are particularly critical of governmental employment.

7) Aside from the security and success factors, high school and college teachers tend to rate private business and the government about equal as employers. On the success factor, the government tends to rate lower.

8) Federal employment is believed to offer better job security than business. This factor was frequently mentioned by Federal employees.

9) The better educated, non-Federal respondents were critical of governmental work; they claimed it was monotonous and routine.

10) Most groups outside the Federal government saw opportunities as equal for getting ahead in business and in government employment. The respondents who

comprised the higher educational and occupational levels frequently mentioned the disadvantages of governmental employment. In contrast, all Federal employees expressed a preference for government employment over business employment when chances for getting ahead were under consideration.

11) Most respondent groups were reasonably optimistic that "a young man of ability" could end up in a top level job either in a large business corporation or in the Federal service. There were, however, variations in this outlook among the better educated groups. The better educated government employees saw the chances as equal, but their non-Federal counterparts and business groups saw the chances as being greater in private business employment.

12) In all groups, the government was compared less favorably with business in terms of opportunities it offers for "real success," i.e., for getting ahead or for attaining one of the top level positions.

13) Most people felt that opportunities to move up within the organization were about as good in government as they were in business. Many of the respondents felt that the top governmental positions provided fewer opportunities for "real success" than top positions in the business world did.

14) When respondents were asked to name that segment of the government which offered the best advantages for them, they named the specific departments associated with their particular occupations.

15) The elite groups preferred service-oriented and ego-enhancing advantages. The lower ranking groups expressed their preference for materialistic advantages.

The Federal Service: More Advantageous for Men or for Women?: Replies to this question indicated that a substantial number of respondents felt that Federal employment offered equal advantages to both sexes. However, some persons among the better educated groups thought that Federal service was more advantageous for women.

Salaries: The general, employed public was ignorant about the salary scale on Federal jobs. All high level Federal and non-Federal groups felt that the Federal salary structure should be raised above the 1961 level.

Some Additional Attitudes of Federal Employees: The great majority of Federal employees preferred to stay in government employment. Most often, the specialized, high ranking personnel and the newer, younger employees were the ones who contemplated a change.

Security was probably the key factor that persuaded men to stay in Federal employment. Additional incentives were present as well. The better educated persons felt that the work was truly enjoyable and gave "inner satisfaction."

Respondents who had once desired to leave Federal employment cited three reasons for wishing to do so: financial reward, self-advancement and progress, and relations with supervisors.

Business and industry were the main possible alternatives which Federal employees visualized for themselves outside governmental work. The natural and social scientists along with engineers also saw alternative opportunities in universities and professional and private practice. The better educated, general, Federal employees showed interest in business as well as in professional possibilities.

The Image of the Federal Employee: The questionnaire asked for a descriptive stereotype image of the Federal civil service employee. Four-fifths of the respondents were willing to furnish such an image. In the group of general employed public, the favorable descriptions of the Federal employee heavily outnumbered the unfavorable attributes. Federal employees were more favorable in their comments than their non-Federal counterparts. Among the elites of both groups, favorable descriptions pertaining to Federal employees were less frequent.

The following favorable attributes of the Federal civil service employee were mentioned. The rank order in decreasing frequency was: good personal character (honest, ethical, high integrity, etc.); capable of doing work because of ability, training, background, qualifications; good worker (works hard and is willing, efficient, dependable); agreeable personality (friendly, nice, neat, personable); security conscious (wants security, rates security high, places security above advancement); educational level is above average; mental ability is above average.

References to favorable characteristics declined among elites outside the group of Federal employees. These people described the civil servant as "security conscious, lacking in ambition, adaptable to routine, a poor worker, and non-creative and dull."

The general, employed public believed that government work was nothing else but clerical and postal work. The various types of blue collar work were attributed more often to business than to government. Apparently, the executive and managerial activities were much more visible in business than they were in the Federal service.

Implications for Counseling:

The typical high school or college counselee is astoundingly naive about Federal employment. This is a remarkable situation in view of the fact that civics and American history are required in most schools.

The vocational counselor will find civil service announcements easy to obtain and highly useful in providing occupational information about Federal employment as well as providing a good descriptive basis for understanding occupations which are pursued both outside of and inside of the Federal government. It is suggested that these announcements be coded according to D.O.T. classifications and be filed with other occupational material. Special listings of position announcements by job field within a civil service region are also available and are helpful to clients who are already trained and experienced in an occupation and are seeking employment. Comparable position descriptions are also issued by some state civil service departments, and these might also be obtained. Teachers of civics and American history might find these materials useful as supplementary teaching aids.

The average counselee, as well as the general public, is unaware of the extremely wide variety of occupations pursued within Federal employment and the variety of promotional career patterns available. For many clients, Federal employment offers exactly what the individual has been looking for but has never looked into because of the cloud of misconceptions surrounding Federal employment.

An excellent source of information about Federal employment are the several newspapers devoted to it. These give an insider's view of Federal employment. Counseling offices of any size would do well to subscribe to one or more of these, since they contain valuable information for counselees considering Federal employment. Counselees should be alerted to the fact that these newspapers have a consistent bias in the direction of justifying and promoting civil service.

Counselees should have information about the various jobs available in civil service as well as information about the promotional avenues of these jobs so that they can map out appropriate career plans. Obtaining knowledge of the special requirements of some positions which block promotion would also be desirable. In some instances, positions which, on the surface, appear to offer an avenue of promotion have very rigid special requirements which prevent promotion.

A useful study would be to make a comparison between the informal patterns of promotion through transfer and the official patterns laid out in the position announcements.

Distinction should be pointed out between some of the temporary government agencies where little job security may exist and the older, well-established agencies where lifelong job tenure may be anticipated.

The counselor will need to clarify information regarding the civil service examination. It is important for the client to know that different degrees of importance are attached to the written examination, depending upon the job. In general, the higher the position, the less importance there is attached to the written examination. Usually, the written examination operates as a negative rather than a positive screening device. A minimum score must be obtained, but a high score does not necessarily assure employment because, in practice, personal characteristics and experience are weighted more heavily.

Counselees also need information about time and the examining procedures. The usual practice is to give examinations for the purpose of providing a list of qualified applicants to meet future-opening needs. It is difficult for most clients to acclimate themselves to the concept of planning this far ahead for a job. On the other hand, in newly developing programs, Federal employees are hired on a temporary basis and then covered into the Federal Civil Service system by tests and other screening criteria administered later.

Scope: Most Occupational Fields

Methodology:

"Structured personal interviews with employed adults in both Federal and non-Federal enterprises and with high school and college students were conducted in all regions of the continental United States." A total of 5,078 questionnaires were administered for the study.

Interviewing of the non-Federal population took place in the period from April, 1960 to June, 1960. In this phase of the study, 3,576 persons were contacted. The second phase involved 1,502 interviews with Federal employees during the months of November, 1960 through February, 1961.

The interview responses were classified according to social class and/or educational level of the subjects, as well as by specific occupational affiliations, such as teacher, student, businessman, scientist, etc. The results presented here were based on the cross-tabulation of replies.

Interviewing and drawing up of the master sample was accomplished by the staff of National Analysts, Inc., Philadelphia, Pa. The general purpose sample selected for this study included the following groupings: a cross-section of the general working public outside the Federal government; Federal civilian employees themselves; high school and college students, and teachers; graduate students; natural scientists; social scientists and engineers in business, the academic world, and the Federal government; and top level business executives and Federal executives.

Cautions:

Findings of the present study are very broad and general. As a survey type of study, the questionnaire contained a number of fixed alternative questions. One of the disadvantages of this method is that it may force a statement of opinion on an issue about which the respondent does not have a clearly formulated or crystallized opinion; this fact is not likely to be revealed by the closed question. Even when the respondent has a clear opinion about the subject, a fixed alternative question may not give an adequate representation of it because none of the choices correspond exactly to his position or do not allow for qualification. Despite these limitations, the trends of opinions attributed to the various classes of persons are of interest and warrant further in-depth observations.

Theoretical Orientation:

This study was undertaken in order to explore public opinion about the Federal Civil Service, and to propose specific changes based upon these findings.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION
OFFICE WORK **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Hoos, Ida R. "Automation in the Office: A Sociological Survey of Occupational and Organizational Changes." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California (Berkeley), 1958.*

Description:

I. The Effect of Automation on Job Opportunities:

A survey of governmental installations and selected business organizations in the San Francisco Bay area revealed that the overall effect of office automation resulted in the diminution of job opportunities. Especially affected by the change were the young high school graduates whose abilities geared to routine clerical operations were replaced by the machines. According to management personnel, no actual lay offs were necessary as a result of automation. The problem of job elimination was solved by the "stork and cupid," the two chief factors responsible for labor turnover among women. The girls who quit their jobs because of marriage and pregnancy simply were not replaced.

Employment agencies reported a lack of calls from insurance companies, banks, and other firms using the EDP (electronic data processing) systems. These companies expanded their facilities without hiring additional personnel.

The introduction of automation in smaller offices did not have much of an adverse effect on the existing labor conditions. In these offices, the machines were regarded as tools to be used for more efficient operations. The appearance of EDP computing centers which operate on a fee basis probably will affect future small office hiring practices.

The trend toward office automation is likely to continue. Newer and better machines are being planned to speed up clerical routines. As existing office machines become worn out, they are replaced by automatic devices which do not cost much more than conventional machines. The chief advantage of acquiring automatic office machinery, as compared to additional clerical help, is that the company can borrow on its labor-saving machinery and can write off the machines on its income tax statements.

II. The Effect of Automation on Positions of Office Personnel:

Programmers: In comparison to the number of opportunities that exist for clerical workers, relatively few opportunities exist for programmers and other key personnel in the automated offices.

EDP systems work is almost entirely the province of the young man, whose average age ranges between 30 and 35. A college degree appears to be an incidental requirement for programmers. Instead, mental acuity, reasoning ability, and creative imagination combined with precision are the characteristics that are sought in these men.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

The programmers interviewed in this study came from a variety of occupational backgrounds. Ex-tabulating machine operators, keypunch operators, a secretary, a cellist, and a mathematician were among those found in the group. At present, the analysts, the planners, and the programmers--the men who are able to exploit the machines to their fullest extent--constitute the elite corps of the office labor force. This trend is likely to continue.

Tabulating Machine Operators: It appears that tabulating machine operators were less adversely affected by office automation than were personnel in other office categories. The group, however, was resistant to EDP procedures. In this category, there are still a number of good jobs but their salary scale is much lower than that for programmers. The skills of the tabulating machine operators are easily transferable to the new machines, which in most cases are designed to accomodate the male rather than the female office worker.

Keypunch Operators: Keypunch jobs are filled by women. Advancement in this area is rather limited, except for periodic increases in wages. It may be that, in time, the new reading and paper handling machines will eliminate this phase of the input operations.

III. The Effects of Automation Upon the Workers as Individuals:

The employee's reactions to office automation tended to fall within three general categories. These categories are: (1) the "clay pigeon" reaction, (2) the "exclusion hypothesis", and (3) the "gravy train" response.

The "clay pigeon" reaction refers to the attitude of the employee who resigns himself to the fact that automation is a reality and then lets fate take its course.

The "exclusion hypothesis" is a psychological rejection of a painful reality. The following comment illustrates the attitude of the employee who falls within this category: "They may be automating all over the place but they'll never be able to put my job on a machine." Accounting machine operators seem to have this type of attitude. Somehow they feel that the reports they turn out on their machines cannot be integrated into any other system. Certain oil company men express attitudes similar to those of the tabulating machine operators. The oil workers feel that dial watching cannot replace one's intuitive knowledge of the sound and smell of oil rushing through the pipelines.

The "gravy train" response is the only attitude toward automation that is favorable. Comments such as "the IBM machines are putting the fat back in", and "just so long as the bright boys upstairs keep dreaming up new reports and analyses for the machines, the happier we office workers will be" illustrate this category of workers' feelings. In the opinion of union officials, however, a lot of this work is "busy work" and "it soon will be over." Although these union officials encourage their men to go to school and learn the new techniques, they are realistic when questions such as "What kinds of jobs will be open for these men?" and "What is the best way to prepare the worker?" are raised.

The extent to which individual workers can adapt to automated office routines appears to depend, in part, upon individual factors such as age, training, length of service, specific occupation, family responsibility, and upon the speed with which mechanization is introduced in an office. Suspicion, fear and insecurity on the part of the workers can result in resistance and thereby slow down the process of accomodation.

In several instances, the routinization of work processes resulted in increased employee turnover. For example, among keypunch operators, the rate of turnover increased from 55 percent to 75 percent. Causes of discontent in this group were summed up by comments such as this one: "This job is no different from a factory job except that I don't get paid as much as the girls working on the line." There is no challenge in the work. Cliques of older women monopolize the few advantages to be had, such as a keypunch machine located by the window. Advancement is too limited and the merit or incentive increases connected with the job are too small to compensate for the drawbacks of the job. For the same effort and time spent in keypunching, a girl can earn a better salary in other types of clerical work. The monotonous work pace and limited promotional prospects bother many keypunch operators. Some are concerned as to whether their jobs would be eliminated if more advanced machines were introduced. Others wonder whether they could attain promotion to supervisory levels if the number of keypunching personnel and keypunching jobs were to be eliminated entirely as the result of technological advancement. Absenteeism is quite frequent in this group. The operators appear to be very tense, and observations indicate that many girls keep a constant supply of tranquilizers at hand.

The drawbacks of the keypunching job appear to be known by the management. A vice-president of an insurance company commented on the similarity between this work and factory work; the machines keep the girls at their desks, punching monotonously without a pause because an objective count of production is being maintained.

Discontent and a high rate of turnover characterize the group of tabulating machine operators also. These men see no real opportunity to rise quickly in status or income if they remain in this job category. The work is routine, and offers few chances to use one's personal initiative. Cliques of older workers seem to keep the younger and newer personnel from advancing. The salary scale in this category is generally lower than in other types of clerical work.

Other groups of employees adversely affected by automation are the older workers who are too inflexible to learn new routines, the supervisors who frequently view automation as a threat to their job security, and vice-presidents and other top officials whose functions are taken away by the new hierarchy of personnel clustered about an integrated data processing set-up. Frequently, these management personnel are bypassed in the decision-making process. Also affected are some older management personnel, who, in some instances, are allowed to "sit out their time until retirement."

IV. The Effects of Automation Upon Workers as Members of Groups:

The redivision of groups often destroyed the existing patterns of interaction and interdependence of workers and contributed to the development of anomie (i.e., social and personal disorganization). Interview evidence confirmed this idea. The extensive specialization of office routine facilitated replacement of personnel and contributed to the more effective use of data processing equipment. The overall effects of such practices on individual personalities, however, were dysfunctional.

The overall effect of office automation on the group appeared to be a slowdown of output. In the newly-created, temporary EDP groupings, the absence of "we feeling" was particularly noticeable. In some instances, the physical relocation of an EDP installation caused the workers to be separated from their circle of friends. This created stress.

The tallying of production output (i.e., number of cards punched daily) or the use of a moving belt in carrying work from one station to another created a factory-like atmosphere among the office personnel. The tendency to employ several shifts of employees to utilize the equipment reinforced the impression of a factory-like atmosphere. A certain amount of moon-lighting, i.e., holding of more than one job, occurred among the personnel involved in EDP processes. Some companies employed men for their night shift; others employed women to work on a "grave yard" shift basis because of the nature of the work flow. Such diversified employment practices are an increasing trend.

V. Ideological Changes:

The traditional cleavage which has existed between white-collar work and factory work is disappearing as automation takes over the office. The clerical employee of the automated office is quite different from his predecessor. Formerly, the office worker had a close association with the entrepreneur. He enjoyed vicarious status derived from his identification with the owner or, at least, with some level of management. Today, however, the office worker resembles the factory worker more and more. He must maintain a certain rate of production, receives an incentive wage, works in a noisy factory-like atmosphere, and is physically located away from the business section of the town.

The interview data indicated that personnel managers were aware of the fact that automation was attracting a different class of people--the factory type of worker. Some managers feel that if the company is not careful in its hiring policies, it will "find that it has a union on its hands."

Despite the factory-like atmosphere of the automated office and the possibility of unionization of workers, the prestige of white-collar work still exists. Charismatic qualities are attributed to personnel connected with the EDP systems. The hiring and advancement of these personnel do not follow any established guidelines. Regular hiring procedures and objectives are bypassed; test results are ignored.

The EDP managers did not seem to be aware of the adverse effects of the automated processes and their impact upon aspects of human relations. In their view, the improved techniques should create widespread satisfaction because of greater efficiency. There is some speculation that the influence of these EDP managers is temporary; in time, standards will develop in terms of educational requirements, job classification, and salary scales.

VI. The Effect of Automation Upon Organizational Structure:

Automation in the organizations studied resulted in the restructuring of hierarchies with attendant effects upon the modes of authority, responsibility, and communication. The disregard of conventional authority, for example, was facilitated by the charismatic qualities attributed to personnel connected with the EDP systems.

The earlier trend favoring decentralization of administration was reversed. Certain managerial functions were consolidated. This, in turn, decreased the layers of administration in the organizational structure.

The evidence indicated that no "one for all" change has occurred. Rather, the effects upon the structural components of the organizations have varied in their intensity. Interviews with management personnel indicated that their attitudes toward automation have not crystallized as yet.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors will encounter an increasing number of clients for whom new career planning is required because automation has eliminated office jobs. It is likely that the overall effect of automation will be to upgrade office jobs and require more technical skill, usually acquired by further education, to qualify for the new job openings. Since conversion to an EDP system is usually a fairly lengthy process, most office workers have a chance to begin to prepare themselves for other types of work through night school. Counselors may be of use in helping clients plan these educational programs. To do this, the counselor will need to know about the new office jobs and the acceptable levels of education and training which will be required.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

The impact of office automation was studied in a number of business organizations and governmental offices in the San Francisco Bay area in the late 1950's. Among the companies surveyed were several governmental installations, banking, public utility, insurance, transportation, oil, food processing, home furnishing, automative and electronic data processing (EDP) equipment distributor firms. Intensive interviews were held with personnel employed at all levels in these companies. Vice-presidents in charge of systems, personnel directors, EDP managers, operating personnel, members of organized labor, and civil service employees were among such personnel. In addition, company and union publications were surveyed.

Cautions:

Since the impact of automation depends so much upon local labor conditions, the speed with which automation is accomplished and the type of business that is affected, findings of this research are limited to the conditions that prevailed in the San Francisco Bay area at the time of the study.

The rapid rate of obsolescence even in automated techniques will, perhaps, result in further occupational and organizational changes.

Theoretical Orientation:

"The substantial body of sociological theory that has been developed during the past half century provides a reservoir from which the student of office automation may draw when attempting to understand the sweeping dimensions of the problem. ... The theoretical orientations of Max Weber and Durkheim, the methodological contributions of Myrdal, the experimental findings of Mayo and Roethlisberger, the work in administrative theory by Barnard and Simon, and the writings of many others...form an integrated matrix vital to achieving appropriate perspective."

FOREMEN **ABSTRACT** D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Wray, Donald E., "Marginal Men of Industry: The Foremen," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LIV, No. 4 (January, 1949), pp. 298-301.

Description:

This study investigates the role of foremen to ascertain whether they "are active participants in managerial decision making activity or are simply transmitters of these decisions." The size of the industrial organization may be a factor which determines the extent to which the foreman contributes to the making of managerial decisions. In a large plant, where an increased number of personnel perform specific managerial tasks, the foreman may simply transmit the decisions to the workers. In the smaller plant, however, where fewer people do managerial work, he has a better chance to participate in the decision-making process.

The author compared the activities of the foreman in two industrial plants of differing sizes and internal organization. One of the plants studied was part of a group of factories operated by a single company. It had six hundred employees. The operations here were highly mechanized and required good coordination among the various departments. Tasks and duties of staff employees, production workers, and managers were well defined. The workers belonged to a union which had a company-wide contract supplemented with local agreements. The daily contact between management and workers occurred at union-management meetings and/or through the grievance procedures set forth.

The other plant observed was a small factory employing only seventy-five persons. The owner himself performed the managerial tasks with the help of a small clerical staff. The workers were unionized here also; their industry-wide contract was supplemented with local agreements.

Stewards and union officers discussed daily problems, grievances, and other matters directly with the owner-manager, and occasionally with the shop manager. The supervisors, i.e., foremen, were not included in these discussions.

Findings:

In the large plant, the foreman supposedly started the grievance procedure and passed it to higher levels. In practice, this meant that it went directly to the superintendent of the department. He did not act on it for "there is no point in bothering with something you can't do anything about." The job of the foreman at this plant consisted mostly of keeping records of production, checking workers' performance, and handling workers' assignments. In the small factory, the supervisors, i.e., foremen, were limited to the checking of work flow, reporting operating procedures, and keeping records.

In both instances, the foreman was the transmitter or interpreter to the workers. His contribution to union-management relations was minimal. The real issues were settled between union representatives and higher management officials; the foreman was expected to conform to their joint decision. The size of the organization, then, is not the factor which determines the extent to which foremen participate in managerial decisions.

In the author's opinion, it is erroneous to regard the foreman as the "key man" in union-management relations; nor does the suggestive phrase, "the man in the middle," accurately describe his position.

The analysis of the foreman's role indicates that he is less than a full member of the managerial ranks; he shares with management the responsibilities for carrying out policies, but he does not participate in their formation. His position is further differentiated from that of management in that he transmits orders to a group, i.e., workers, whose goals generally differ from the goals of the industrial organization.

This is a "between"--a so-called "marginal"--position, one that is especially difficult to occupy effectively and with peace of mind. "It is characteristic of such marginal positions that the people who occupy them consider that they are special victims of the disparity between social norms and social reality....It presents them with a dilemma which results in a good deal of personal conflict." On occasion, men in such marginal positions attempt to solve the conflict individually or collectively, by defiantly adopting an alternative role. An example is the foreman who organizes a union of foremen for bargaining with management.

Implications for Counseling:

Counselors are rarely apt to counsel foremen. They are more likely to plan career patterns with individuals already in semi-skilled and skilled factory work, considering with them the occupation, foreman, as a goal towards which to work. This study provides a helpful guide against which the psycho-social attributes of the client may be reviewed. The counselor may well ask himself whether the client has the ego strength to function in such a conflicting and frustrating role.

Much more common in the counselor's experience is the client who is holding or has held a factory position in which the foreman's treatment of him has been destructive, frequently to the point of being traumatic. The information in studies such as this will enable the counselor to show the client that the foreman's behavior is frequently reactive-type behavior. It is related primarily to the frustrations the foreman feels in his role rather than to unacceptable behavior on the part of the client. This may reduce the client's feelings of inadequacy and, if his best or only feasible choice is to continue on as a factory worker, it will enable him to adjust to the situation more realistically.

It is believed that, in general, this study underestimates the skill requirements of foremen. Foremen may, to some extent, be divided into two groups: those with high technical skills, such as is found in a machine shop, and those with low technical skills, such as is found in an assembly line operation. It is believed that the foreman with high technical skills plays a much more significant role than the article would indicate.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The industrial foreman today does not share in the decision-making process which is the core of managerial functions. He is instead a transmitter of decisions which have been made by his superiors, yet the traditional definition of the foreman's

position and the current stated norms are based on the assumption that he has decision-making power. The disparity between expectation and experience produces personal conflict and disruption of managerial organization. The size of industrial units seems of less importance in producing this marginal situation than does the concentration of decision-making in top management and the imposition on foremen of rules made jointly by top management and worker unions."

Methodology:

Two plants, one large and one small, are observed in their day-to-day operations over several months to ascertain the actual patterns of behavior of supervisors, union officials, and top management.

Cautions:

This article reflects the author's personal interpretation of the situation.

Theoretical Orientation:

From one point of view, the role of the foreman is conceived as "the most important link between management and the worker." The implication is that the foreman plays an important part in management's decision-making. In the author's opinion, this conception of the foreman's role ignores the effects of increasing managerial specialization and the growing force of union activities.

A second point of view characterizes the foreman as "the man in the middle." Emphasis is placed on the fact that persons occupying the low ranks of a managerial hierarchy are subject to two sets of demands which are in conflict; the foreman must satisfy both top management and his work force, which is organized.

Neither of these views describe the foreman's role adequately. The concept of "marginal position" is suggested by the author as the more fitting view.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION
AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURE

D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

ABSTRACT

Bensman, Joseph and Gerver, Israel. "Crime and Punishment in the Factory: The Function of Deviancy in Maintaining the Social System," American Sociological Review, Vol. 28, No. 4 (August, 1963), pp. 588-598.

Description:

A major sociological theory, structural functionalism was empirically tested in a case study of an airplane factory.

The Structural Functionalist Theory: Structural functionalist theory attempts to describe on-going social systems as operating units comprised of a tightly knit series of interlocking functions, mutually supporting each other and contributing to the support and continuance of the system. The concept of function used by the structural-functionalists defines and describes how a particular structural unit within the system contributes to the maintenance of the whole. Attributed to the system are certain "ends" and approved means--i.e., rules formulated for the purpose of achieving the ends. Deviation from these ends or means on the part of the individuals in the system is defined as dysfunctional to the system. Problems with this theory arise when one attempts to measure all on-going activities in terms of promoting or hindering the accomplishment of these ends. "Attributes of functions and dysfunctions are artifacts of the mode of analysis and are based upon the analyst's assumptions of ends for a system, rather than upon attributes of the actual collective behavior."

In this case study of an aircraft factory, the authors found that certain assumptions of the structural functionalist theory were invalid. By examining the rules of workmanship governing the illegal use of a particular tool, the tap, the authors were able to show how much of the behavior and performance of workers, foremen, and inspectors deviated from the rules of workmanship (to a point defined as criminal and punishable by dismissal), and yet achieved ends of the organization--i.e., to produce planes and to make a profit on them.

The Tap and Its Functions: Aircraft assemblies are bolted together with self-locking nuts which are permanently attached to the part to be assembled. Since parts are not manufactured with perfect precision, bolts will frequently not fit into the corresponding nuts. If the assembly is disassembled and reassembled for a better fit, the foreman is placed on the spot because his production has been put behind schedule.

The tap is a screw made of metal harder than that used in the nut. The tap cuts new threads in the nut at a different angle and permits bolting of parts which initially did not fit. However, it also destroys the self-locking efficiency of the nut. Although the use of the tap is strictly forbidden by quality control procedures, it is used almost universally, and half the men of the work force keep one or more taps in their tool boxes.

Rules of Workmanship and Violations: New workers are taught the use of the tap by experienced workers and are given suitable admonitions not to be caught. Foremen also instruct workers in the use of the tap and occasionally use one themselves. If a worker is caught using a tap and is reported by an inspector (which rarely happens), the foreman will publicly reprimand him even though the foreman himself suggested the use of the tap. Company inspectors are well aware that taps are used and indirectly acquiesce in their use.

The factory employees--foremen, inspectors and workers--band together to conceal the use of the tap from the two Air Force inspectors who make spot checks. When an Air Force inspector is checking a specific department, word is passed along to hide the taps, and workers who are known to use taps too frequently and irresponsibly are instructed by their foremen to "disappear."

The use of the tap is a criminal act in terms of published company policy. Nevertheless, foremen, workers, and inspectors conspire to use the tap in order to get production out on schedule. From the point of view of those responsible for meeting production schedules, the quality control procedures are an obstacle to the achievement of production goals since production would be considerably slowed if taps were never used; more legitimate means of correcting the lack or precision-fit are time consuming. The use of the tap not only provides the means by which production schedules are met; it also serves as a means by which mutually satisfactory working relations within the work groups are maintained, since, when production schedules are not met, tensions and pressures soon develop among the groups of workers. In this sense, the violation of the norm does not support structural-functionalist theory.

The authors suggest that human activity of this kind may be better understood if one postulates different ends for different individuals and groups in the system. In the words of the authors, "a 'crime' is not a crime so long as its commission is controlled and directed by those in authority toward goals which they define as socially constructive. A violation of law is treated as a crime when it is not directed and controlled by those in authority, or when it is used for exclusively personal ends."

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors should be aware of the conflict between the formal and informal rules to which workers are subjected, and this study provides an excellent description of the details of the process in one plant.

What is frequently called lack of skill in interpersonal relationship is actually unwillingness or inability to comply with two conflicting sets of regulations or to accept admonitions for complying with one but not the other. Lack of skill in interpersonal relations may also be sheerly a matter of getting caught in the violation of a formal rule whose violation is mandated by the informal rule. The mentally retarded and the mentally ill are two catagories of workers likely to be enmeshed in these traps. Another category are those deviant individuals whose value structure includes an overly rigid regard for honesty and consistency.

One of the functions of vocational counselors is to help clients evaluate the formal and informal rules operating in their particular work situation so that they may be guided accordingly.

Scope: Occupation

Author's Abstract:

"The functional view of deviancy, which emphasizes rejection of the norms of a social system and the conflict between means and ends, is brought under question because it imputes 'ends' to a system. An alternative perspective is presented, advancing the conception that norms are rules that express the nature of social transactions in an organization and are established under a historically specific system of authority. Under this conception, 'deviant' actions do not necessarily imply a rejection of the ends of a total system, but are simply part of the totality of individual transactions in an organization. Thus deviant behavior is the consequent of a plurality of ends as well as the consequent of the conflict between means and ends. The function of the violation of one specific rule of workmanship in one organization are treated in detail to illustrate the inapplicability of the functional model of deviancy and the viability of other perspectives."

Methodology:

Data were collected in 1953-54 by one of the authors working as an assembler on the aileron crew of the final wing line. He recorded his observations daily.

Cautions:

Generalizations should be made with caution on the basis of this study since it presents information about conditions that existed in one particular setting at a particular time.

Theoretical Orientation:

"...any theoretical model which accepts as an initial postulate the dominance of an ultimate end, and which conceptualizes disorganization as a conflict between means and ends, overlooks the possibility that conflicting means and ends are actually conflicts between the means to one end with the means to another end."

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED
SHIP AND BOAT BUILDING INDUSTRY

ABSTRACT

Archibald, Katherine. "Status Orientations Among Shipyard Workers," in Class, Status and Power, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1953, pp. 395-403.

Description:

This is a study of the way in which shipyard workers adapted to the realities of a hierarchical society and to their relatively low position in that society. Characteristically, the shipyard worker did not condemn the conventionalities of privilege; rather, he complained because someone other than himself held a coveted position. The shipyard worker disliked the possessor of extreme wealth, but his criticism always stopped short of a condemnation of the system of economic inequality.

The shipyard worker developed a characteristic pattern of adaptation to the hierarchical structure of the organization. For every variation in hierarchical authority, the worker responded with a variation in attitude and behavior. The leaderman who directs the activities of a squad of eight or nine men and is the lowest man in the supervisory hierarchy was included in the squad and was addressed by his first name. The foreman and those of higher rank were invariably addressed by their last names. The men in the front office were addressed with a tone of servility and were shown respect in various ways such as the workers removing their hats.

The shipyard workers' attitude toward authority was antagonistic and was expressed in their servile attitude which increased in direct proportion to the position of the individual in the hierarchical structure. Workers saw managerial positions as gifts given exclusively to those with pre-existing wealth and privilege. They thought this group lacked any real knowledge of shipbuilding since they thought it could only be gained by the man who worked directly with tools. All errors that occurred were blamed on the incompetence of the managerial group and "pencil pushers" in general. The workers' expression of servility toward the managerial group was not the result, therefore, of their respect for the skill or knowledge of this group, but,rather, because of the fear they had of the managers' control over them and their jobs.

The shipyard worker believed that wealth was either the product of cunning or of chance. Since he was unwilling to stoop to cunning, the worker's hope was kept alive by the possibility that he might get lucky and acquire wealth--"...the stimulating promise that what had happened to others might with equal unpredictability and suddenness happen likewise to oneself." Thus, the unlimited possibilities of chance frustrated the formation of a stable rebellious attitude on the part of the shipyard worker.

"The philosophy of individualism and opportunism was a further factor in the discouragement of fundamental criticism of the injustices of a hierarchical society. According to the principles of judgment which this philosophy established, it was possible to resent particular instances of discrimination and to take exception to the current possessors of the power to discriminate and oppress, since they constituted encroachments and limitations upon the personal freedoms of the under-privileged individual. But it was not possible to go past this point to the condemnation of the entire concept of discrimination and the whole system of privilege. Hope of such extension of petty resentments of specific grievances into a broad and high-principled rebellion was effectively blocked by the shoulder-shrugging admission, typical of the workers, and the opportunistic outlook which they cherished, that if they were rich and had the necessary power they would build against others the same walls of exclusion that now confronted and obstructed them."

Implications for Counseling:

Most counselors hold typical middle-class values which maintain that occupational and financial success are the result of hard work, study, and deferment of immediate gratification so as to obtain future benefits. It is difficult for counselors to refrain from attempting to impose these values on counselees such as the shipyard workers who are imputed by this report to hold values which place emphasis on securing occupational and financial success by cunning and chance.

Counselors would do well to make counselees aware of the fact that our occupational system is peculiar to our western civilization; it is not a universal phenomenon. Armed with this understanding, counselees may be able to better cope with the occupational frustration which, in some instances, stems from the hierarchical occupational system.

The work role of the counselor is to help individuals to adjust to the existing occupational system, rather than to attempt to change it. Whether the counselor, outside of his work role, should be engaged in social action activity is a matter of opinion; there is feeling in some quarters that the counselor should be involved in social action, such as working for needed changes in the curriculum if he is in a school setting, etc.

Scope: Shipbuilding Industry

Methodology:

This study is based on participant observation of a group of shipyard workers during World War II.

Cautions:

The extent to which the occupational culture of shipyard workers today is the same as that during World War II is unknown. It is possible that this culture may be considerably different during a "normal" period.

Theoretical Orientation:

Despite their low status, shipyard workers do not develop a rebellious orientation toward the hierarchical attributes of the social system. Instead, their resentment is focused on those who enjoy a privileged position. The possibility of such a rebellious orientation is further mitigated by an interrelated belief in chance, individualism and opportunism which keeps alive the hope of the attainment of a privileged position but leaves unquestioned the system of privilege.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: OCCUPATIONS IN THE GENERATION OF ELECTRICAL POWER

D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

ABSTRACT

Mann, Floyd C., and Hoffman, Richard L. Automation and the Worker: A Study of Social Change in Power Plants. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1960.

Description:

This is a study of the effects of technological change on employees in a power plant. Questionnaire responses of workers in an automated plant were compared with those of workers in a conventional power plant. In comparison with employees in the conventional plant, employees in the automated plant felt:

1. Their jobs were more interesting and satisfying.
2. They spent more time doing things at which they were skilled.
3. Their jobs required more training.
4. They had much more responsibility.
5. They had greater physical mobility and more contact with other men.
6. There was a greater degree of interdependence among operators.
7. They spent more time learning new skills.
8. They were more dependent on their foremen and their foremen were more dependent on them.
9. Their job made them more nervous.
10. They were more satisfied with the hierarchial plan of communication (largely due to the reduction in the number of levels of supervision).

The automated plant involved the integration of the boiler and turbine operations along with the introduction of feedback and other automatic controls. There was considerable job enlargement. A number of functions, which had been performed by separate operators in the non-automated plant, were combined in the automated plant. As a consequence, one operator was responsible for a larger number of operations.

"The integration of boiler and turbine functions and their controls meant that only operators with knowledge of both turbines and boilers could be employed and that the distinction between the turbine and boiler operators could no longer be maintained. This requirement led the company to examine the possibility of further enlarging the jobs to include knowledge of the electrical switching operations as well as those of boilers and turbines. As a result, the distinctions among operators in the older plant according to the type of equipment they operated were eliminated in the new plant. Only one class of operators was established for the new plant: power plant operators."

Implications for Counseling:

Most counselors have familiarized themselves with industrial processes by participating in plant tours. Counselors should make a specific point of visiting automated plants so as to gain a background for understanding and evaluating the impact of the new relationships between men and machines, as well as those between man and man.

From the studies which have appeared so far on how social interaction is affected by automation, it appears that the changes are not all in one direction. Some changes precipitated by automation seem to improve interpersonal interaction; others, to worsen it. When visiting automated plants, counselors should question supervisors and workers closely on these points.

In studies which use the questionnaire method, there is a certain fractionation of responses. When we utilize this approach to try to understand attitudes, we are assuming that the meaning of the whole can be reconstructed by the synthesis of the fractionated responses. An assumption is made that the fractionated response (answer to a specific question) does not violate the total meaning of the situation to the subject (worker) by taking it out of the context. The counselor is in an excellent position to have attitudes reported to him which fall within the framework of a total situation as seen by the counselee. He is, thus, provided with a safeguard against the possible misrepresentations a fractionated approach may present, although, admittedly, this procedure, too, is subject to its own biases.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

Separate questionnaires were given to non-supervisory employees, foremen, and general foremen, and top plant staff. They were administered in December of 1954. All foremen in both plants completed their questionnaires. All 138 of the non-supervisory employees in the automated plant completed their questionnaires. Of the 246 employees in the conventional plant, however, only 176 completed both parts of their questionnaires.

Cautions:

This study of the effects of automation pertains to only one power plant. More cases will be needed before any firm generalizations can be made.

The data is incomplete since approximately thirty per cent of the conventional plant employees did not respond to both parts of the questionnaire.

Theoretical Orientation:

Each new technological change affects the nature of work, worker interaction, the structure of the work organization, and skill requirements. These changes, in turn, affect worker attitudes toward the job and general job satisfaction. They require that the worker adapt to new situations and learn new skills.

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION: D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED
OCCUPATIONS IN THE MANUFACTURE OF STEEL

ABSTRACT

Singleton, James W. "Meanings of Work and Attitudes Toward Retirement Among Steelworkers." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954.

Description:

In the present study, several hypotheses regarding the values and meanings of work and the relationship of these concepts to retirement attitudes were empirically tested among a group of unskilled and skilled workers and foremen employed at the "Midwest" Steel Company.

It is the author's contention that "different occupational strata will be composed of persons who emphasize different meanings of work, with these meanings being relatively consistent within a single stratum." Similar studies in the past have focused on occupational groups within dissimilar environments. These studies presented a horizontal rather than a vertical cross section of attitudes. In the present study, the industrial or institutional environment of the workers was the same, and the workers' attitudes toward work and retirement were examined along a vertical axis (i.e., in terms of skill hierarchy).

Occupational Determinants of the Meanings of Work:

It was hypothesized that "occupational class in which the worker is placed relative to others, and the type of work...expected from him by virtue of his affiliation with /his/ class" would affect the meanings and values attached to work.

1. The unskilled worker, the lowest man in the industrial hierarchy, would place more emphasis on the money which he receives for his work since he would get little intrinsic satisfaction from his work.

2. The skilled worker who has technical experience at his command, and who is set apart from the others because of his special competence, was expected to emphasize the importance of his job in relation to the meaning of work.

3. The foreman, who is the intermediary between management and the worker, would represent a sort of father figure to the worker and, as such, was expected to conceive of the meanings of work in terms of personal respect accorded to him by his workers.

The meanings of work for these various classes of workers were revealed by particular value orientations in the course of the interviews. A frequency analysis of the empirical data confirmed the above hypotheses.

Thus, unskilled workers emphasized earning a living as the most important positive meaning of work more often than either skilled workers or foremen. Skilled workers emphasized physical activity as the positive meaning of work; foremen emphasized the respect of others as an important positive meaning of work. Generally, it appeared that association with fellow workers was considered more important by skilled workers and foremen than by unskilled workers.

When the author phrased the question from the opposing point of view and inquired about the negative meanings of work, a considerable shift in the meanings of work was apparent when these responses were compared to the positive aspects of work cited by the respective occupational classes. The following response pattern emerged: Unskilled and skilled workers mentioned the hard work as the most important negative meaning of work more often than the foremen. Foremen mentioned the respect of others as the most important negative meaning of work significantly more frequently than the unskilled workers.

Institutional Determinants of the Meaning of Work:

The author believed that the meaning of work which the individual worker emphasized depended, at least in part, upon some aspect of the institutional environment toward which the individual was oriented and with which he identified. The term institutional aspect may cover a number of things related to the work environment. It could be the company, the social group at work, the particular trade or profession, or the steel industry. The data indicated that unskilled workers identified significantly more often with the company of "Midwest" than did skilled workers or foremen. They identified less often with trade, skill level, or profession than did skilled workers or foremen. This was in accord with the author's hypothesis.

Skilled workers were expected to identify with their trade, skill level, or profession. Foremen were expected to identify with their particular social group. The interview data regarding the response pattern of these two occupational classes was not statistically significant, however. Upon reviewing the interview data, somewhat contrary to his expectations, the author found that foremen considered themselves separate from their men and identified with leadership. They took pride in the fact that they were friends with their work group; however, they insisted that these men respect and obey them. Several had said: "If the work doesn't get done, friendship stops." The data further suggested that foremen identified with the company in general. An explanation for this may be found in the fact that the company had given them authority. Similarly, the skilled worker was found to identify with the company because it provided him with a challenging job that he enjoyed. In the author's opinion, both the skilled worker and the foreman fell into the same category on this issue.

Meaning of Work and Retirement Expectations:

The concept of a career cycle developed by E.C. Hughes suggests that retirement from work is the natural consequence of pursuing a career. Retirement may be conceived of as a process. The specific pattern of the retirement process varies, depending upon the nature of the occupation.

Retirement, while an integral part of the career concept, is the antithesis of work. It was hypothesized that if a person likes his work, he should not like the prospect of retirement. If he dislikes his job, then he should look favorably on the prospect of retirement.

The data suggested that many persons were quite ambivalent about the meaning their work had for them. A statistical comparison of the positive and negative meanings of work and retirement expectations showed that persons who expressed only positive meanings of work did not want to retire. Persons who expressed any negative meanings of work desired to retire.

Significance of the Study:

The significance of this study is that it distinguished between meanings of work in terms of their rank order of importance to the individual (i.e., association is of secondary importance to skilled workers and foremen). It also distinguished between positive and negative meanings of work. Both positive and negative meanings were found to be related to one's attitude toward retirement.

Implications for Counseling:

This study is especially relevant for the individual who seeks counseling with a view to working out a plan leading to promotion in a steel plant or related organization. The counselor will do well to discuss with the client the shift in goals and values that occurs when one moves from an unskilled to a skilled status or from a skilled to a foremanship status. Successful upward occupational mobility demands some degree of self-awareness and attitudinal flexibility which many counselees do not have.

One of the central needs of the economy is to upgrade the work force in order to compensate for the elimination of many lower level jobs by automation and for the proliferation of higher level jobs. The upgrading of workers requires a shift in attitudes and values as well as an increase in skill. This fact would hold true for workers entering any kind of a training program so that the general principles described in this study are worthy of careful consideration.

In terms of retirement, it seems improbable that the individuals who dislike their jobs and look favorably on retirement would adjust better to retirement. As a general rule, it would appear probable that the individuals who like their jobs and dislike the prospect of retirement will adjust well to retirement. This presumes that the qualities which lead to adjustment to the job will lead to adjustment in retirement. Empirical evidence is needed to establish this point, and there are many individuals who are obvious exceptions.

It is important for the counselor to realize that he should not necessarily take the counselee's expressed verbal attitude toward retirement at face value, since it may reflect a reactive response to his feelings toward his present job.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

During the spring and summer of 1951, random samples of 50 unskilled workers, 48 skilled workers, and 48 foremen were interviewed in their homes. At the time of the study, all men were between the ages of fifty-five and sixty-five and were listed as employees on the company's records.

Cautions:

Generalizations on the basis of this study should be made with caution. The size of the sample was small and was drawn from a single factory. The findings presented here may not necessarily represent the general pattern of attitudes found among all steel workers of comparable ages.

Theoretical Orientation:

"...it is a definite sociological phenomenon to find groups of people apparently similar only in their occupational affiliation, behaving similarly in a number of ways. By virtue of performing similar jobs, people come to attach similar values and meanings to their world. Among other things, one of these meanings is the meaning which work itself has to the person." Several hypotheses regarding the meaning of work and its relationship to retirement attitudes are tested.

TELEPHONE INDUSTRY ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Seidman, Joel, et al., "Telephone Workers", in Man, Work and Society, ed.
Sigmund Nosow and William Form, New York: Basic Books, 1962, pp. 493-504.

Description:

The telephone companies operating under the Bell System consist of four departments: (1) traffic, (2) commercial, (3) accounting, and (4) plant. The traffic department is in charge of completing the calls, and employs the largest number of workers (mostly females). The operators sit along long rows of telephone switchboards wearing headphones, the distinctive symbol of their work. Their main tasks are completing the calls and writing up tickets according to company rules. The work is closely supervised and requires discipline from the worker, who cannot leave her board without being replaced, and cannot converse with her fellow worker. The nature of the job demands close attention. The working hours are varied because the switchboards must be manned around the clock, day after day, thus requiring night work, Sunday and holiday work, and split shifts. Above the switchboard operators are the hierarchies of service assistants, the chief operator and her assistants.

The district traffic manager coordinates the traffic department's activities with those of other departments. There are also some clerical jobs in the traffic department. These positions are believed to be more desirable than the work of the switchboard operator because of the relative freedom associated with the job, and because the work environment more closely resembles the white collar worker's surroundings. The majority of clerical jobs, however, are in the accounting and commercial departments.

Employees of the accounting department are almost all women. They sort and tabulate the telephone tickets, keep the books, and operate the various office machines. The positions in the commercial department are believed to be the most interesting ones since these employees deal personally with the subscribing public.

The plant department primarily employs men, usually high school and trade school graduates who are then trained to install and maintain the complex telephone equipment. The outside jobs of linemen, cablemen and installers may frequently be physically difficult or dirty. Within this department, usually in the central office, there are a number of service positions where the work is more pleasant. Members of this group look and act like white collar workers; they wear a white shirt, and a business suit with tie. Although the pay of these workers is lower than that of the building tradesmen, for example, the men feel superior to such groups because of their better education, cleaner work, and the prestige associated with the telephone employment. "Equipment technicians feel themselves part of the great middle class, far more securely than do the operators."

The telephone companies are usually very selective in their hiring practices. Operators are often recruited through school authorities, or through friends already in the telephone system. The company tries "to convince its employees of the friendliness of the supervisory staff and the advantages of employment in the telephone industry." Although jobs in the telephone companies appear to be far steadier than jobs in other industries because of society's increasing dependence upon communication networks, "telephone workers, especially operators, are fearful of the impact of technological advance upon employment opportunities."

The Workers and Their Jobs

Very few of the workers thought of entering telephone employment while in their formative years. After graduation their friends or relatives already in telephone work suggested the opportunity to them, or they were attracted by the company's advertisements. Almost all male employees were trained on the job. The data suggest that the telephone industry possesses a romantic appeal for young men as well as for young women. One of the men thus described his entry into telephone work:

> I was young when I first went to work for them. I was out of high school about a year working about the country on road construction jobs and then because telephone was kind of nice in my mind--you know how a kid is from a small town--well, telephone seemed kind of romantic. And I saw an ad in the paper advertising for lineman's helper, so I applied.

Generally, the employees were overwhelmingly favorable toward their employer, and enjoyed their association with the large, powerful company. They appreciated the pension and other company benefits, "plus the fact that they were reasonably assured of steady work, even during business recessions." There were a few dissenters, however, who denied that the company's prestige was carried over to its employees. They asserted that working for the telephone company was "just a job, like any other." They felt that telephone operators were looked down by the public.

Most telephone employees considered themselves white collar workers. Certainly this was true in the case of administrative and clerical employees. The white collar status of equipment technicians and operators, however, was met with varying degrees of acceptance. The operators were frequently regarded as "sort of in between factory workers and white collar workers." One clerical employee commented on the issue this way: "...operating is very unskilled work. I think you have to have a little bit more intelligence to work in an office. And you have more responsibility." White collar status, however, does not depend entirely upon job content; social factors such as education, mode of dress, language, cleanliness, are also involved.

Of the employees, the women were particularly conscious of the social characteristics of their fellow employees. "Among the advantages of telephone employment most of the women included the fact that they liked the people they worked with, that 'people are nice.'" The disadvantages most often cited were discipline, undesirable hours, and, on occasion, the low pay. "The discipline at the switchboard was stressed very frequently as one of the chief dislikes of the operators and a reason for their leaving the company."

Aspirations of Telephone Workers

Generally, telephone workers lacked strong ties to their work. Those who indicated their intent to remain with the company gave chance for advancement, security, and satisfaction with the job as their reasons. The majority of these people had little choice since their training and specialized experience--as equipment technicians, for example--afforded them little opportunity for employment elsewhere.

Employees who planned to leave were mostly single women who disliked the hours of work or planned to get married, married women who were needed at home or whose earnings were less necessary once their families were grown up.

Those with experience in union leadership felt that they had already demonstrated their ability to handle people effectively and believed that thereby improved their chances for obtaining supervisory positions.

Male equipment technicians, with few exceptions, preferred their work to any other occupation. Most of the women, however, desired other types of work, such as airline hostess, receptionist, secretary, nurse and teacher--"all secure middle-class positions carrying prestige and, in some cases, glamour."

Telephone workers, unlike factory workers, had no objections to their children following them into the occupation. All of them wanted their children to obtain an education first, however, in order to have a chance to achieve professional status. Interestingly, many workers said that they would like their sons but not their daughters to follow their occupations. This attitude indicated that the skilled equipment technician's position was believed superior to the less-skilled and more closely supervised switchboard operator's job.

Union work, for the most part, was not attractive to the telephone worker. The majority of women felt that they did not have the time for such unpaid work. Nevertheless the union performed an important function in adjusting grievances, and in assuring adequate wages commensurate with rates prevailing in the particular community for comparable skills. The somewhat indifferent attitude of the workers clearly reflected the influence of middle-class values. The existence of strong unions in certain white collar fields, e.g., musicians, newspaper writers and railway clerks, however, illustrates that such attitudes can be overcome.

Implications for Counseling:

There appears to be little turnover of telephone company employees. Selection techniques seem to be efficient so that it is rare to encounter a counselee who has been laid off, fired, or has quit the telephone company.

Many counselees, in planning their careers, ask about working for the telephone company. Since there are very clearcut categories of skills required by the telephone company and definite lines of promotion, it is well for counselees to be fully informed of these early in their planning. Once the counselee enters the particular department, there is relatively little opportunity for transfer or promotion outside of that department. Telephone employees sometimes seek vocational counseling for help in planning an educational program to help upgrade themselves.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

This article was based upon the author's observations and interviews with telephone company employees.

Cautions:

The somewhat scanty information about research methods warrants caution in making generalizations from these findings.

Theoretical Orientation:

The culture of the occupation develops in response to technical, physical attributes of the job as well as to types of interpersonal relations, employee identification with company, employee self-concepts, aspirations and motivations. These responses are not always congruent with one another, thus resulting in role ambiguities. The situation of the telephone worker is one in which role ambiguities arise from several sources.

Telephone operators often have two conflicting occupational images. "Although their jobs provide many of the conditions associated with white-collar status (clean work surroundings, lack of manual effort, clean work clothes, relatively highly educated peers), workers are also faced with conditions they identify with manual work (very close supervision, relative lack of job autonomy, restricted informal relationships with co-workers, and poor working hours)." Under such conflicting circumstances they develop ambivalent self-images and do not have clear-cut occupational ideologies.

ABSTRACT

Lebeaux, Charles N. "Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1954.*

Description:

Rural sociology attributes a peculiar set of cultural characteristics and behavior to persons brought up and/or living in the rural areas of the United States. It is believed that persons living in urban regions are influenced by industrialization and have a different way of life. The alleged cultural and behavioral differences between persons of rural and urban background were investigated among a group of factory workers to determine how these differences were reflected in such areas as work satisfaction, supervision, and union membership.

Rural-Urban Attributes:

Many of the differences between rural and urban persons arise from occupational distinctions. The rural person usually has only one occupational choice, that of farming. The urban person, in contrast, may be employed in a great number of different occupations.

Farmers today have telephones, radios, and automobiles so that they can keep in touch with one another as well as with non-farm people. They are accustomed to living and moving freely and to deciding when and how they will work. They have many contacts outside their homes and their farms, but the work group and the family social circle are more dominant in their daily lives than they are in the lives of the city people.

It is believed that farm people highly value such traits as physical strength and vitality, energy and endurance, effort and output. "Farm people resent the person who is afraid to get his hands dirty, who never 'works up a sweat,' who is ashamed to wear work clothes, or who is unwilling to put in a good (long) day's work at 'honest' toil."

The fact that the farmer is self-employed as compared to the urban worker appears to result in a strong feeling of independence on his part. It can be hypothesized that this trait on the part of the rural worker placed in an urban factory setting would show itself in the form of general dissatisfaction and would most likely influence his relationships with foreman and supervisors. On the other hand, it might also be that the worker's respect for the company's authority, as embodied in the person of the foreman, would take precedence.

The rural family is characterized as patriarchal. A high degree of authority is vested in the father as compared with the 'democratic' or 'equalitarian' type of urban families. The farm family is highly cohesive, more so than the urban one.

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*This dissertation has been abstracted selectively.

Participation in common work "does tend to knit the family more closely with a greater sphere of common interests than most urban families have."

The social stereotype of the city person stresses the superficiality of social relationships. The city person is likely to be valued not for what he is but for what he can do or how he appears. "One has neither the time nor the energy to know intimately all those he meets in the city...He is forced... to formulate stereotyped conceptions of the multitudes whose faces he perceives."

The farmer, on the other hand, "is said to react in a more individual way to the comparatively few people with whom he has contact."

The author pictures the difference between rural and urban societies as one lying on a continuum. If this continuum is examined regionally, one will find that the rural society is more "folkish" in the southern part of the country than in the northern part of the country. The continuum is pictured in this fashion:

Ideal	Southern	Northern	Northern	Ideal
Folk	Rural	Rural	Urban	Urban

From a survey of the pertinent literature, the author derived a number of hypotheses and stated the rationale in support of these hypotheses. The overall results revealed a pattern of differences that only partially supported the current conceptions of rural-urban culture differences. The divergence from expected behavior was particularly noticeable in the rural South group. The rural background groups were, as expected, more satisfied with their pay and chances for promotion than the urban group; they were also more often union members--a contradiction of the hypothesis. Interestingly, the rural South group had more favorable attitudes toward the union than did the other groups. Although statistically non-significant, the findings showed that the rural groups felt that they had to work harder to get their work done. On the basis of objective records, the foremen reported that this group had a higher production rate than the urban group. In comparison to urban workers, the rural groups felt that they had the poorest jobs in the factory, but at the same time, they indicated more often that they preferred to keep their present jobs.

No significant differences were found among the groups on the indices of overall satisfaction with the company, the foreman, and the job. A comparison of the rural North and urban North groups gave essentially similar results. In the data, there were some indications that differences between the rural and urban groups tended to decrease as experience of the rural groups increased in length of time.

Conclusions:

An ex post facto interpretation of the results stressed three elements: (1) persistent rural-urban cultural differences exist in "circumscribed" areas, especially in values that have to do with work and production; (2)

rural migrants to urban factories in recent years are not representative of the stereotype of migrants who are portrayed in the literature, particularly with regard to their allegedly low social class origin and culture (i.e., the hillbilly notion is not applicable to them); (3) behavior indicating group conflict appears, especially among rural Southerners; (4) rural persons in a working class, urban environment consider themselves inferior because of their rural characteristics.

In closing, the author suggests that the differences between rural and urban societies may be investigated from other theoretical points of view: (1) conceiving rural-urban differences as examples of culture contact and resultant group conflict, and then investigating how these affect the attitudes of minority immigrant groups; (2) studying the differences in prestige attached by the larger national culture to rural traits as opposed to urban traits; (3) observing particular characteristics of recent rural migration to the Midwest.

Implications for Counseling:

The general conclusions from this study appear to be that rural versus urban background is of decreasing significance in vocational counseling. In states with strong, centralized school systems, the differences in the quality of education in urban and rural areas is diminished. With many factories relocating in smaller towns, many rural people have had industrial experience without having moved to an urban area. Differences stemming from whether the individual's intellectual growth was nourished by a good school system or neglected by a poor school system are likely to be of more importance.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

In early 1950, a 117-item, paper-and-pencil questionnaire was administered by the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, to the entire work force of the Caterpillar Tractor Co. at Peoria, Illinois. From approximately 17,000 responses of hourly employees, 5,145 questionnaires fit the author's specific area of interest, i.e., gave sufficient information as to separate the respondents into rural South, rural North, and urban North groupings. The rural South group contained 1,155 persons; the rural North, 1,714; and the urban North 2,075 respondents. The author had no connection at all with any stage of the gathering and processing of the data.

Cautions:

The author repeatedly cautions the reader that this study is exploratory in nature and that he should be aware of the fact that predictions concerning the direction of rural-urban differences could be made only with great uncertainty. There are several major difficulties inherent in the study design. The rural group is now living in an urban environment which raises the question as to the 'carry-over' of rural traits into this new setting. The rural groups are more or less recent migrants, and this may be a contaminating factor. Predictions of how rural people would behave in a factory setting could be made, for the most part, only on the level of plausibility since so many facets of the rural-urban background could enter into and affect the behavior. The author suggested that a replication of this study be made in order to confirm the findings.

Theoretical Orientation:

The theoretical assumptions of this inquiry are based upon "the framework of the folk-urban, Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft, and the like typologies."

Killian, Lewis M. "The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants," American Sociological Review, Vol. 17 (June, 1952), pp. 327-331.

Description:

In this study the reactions of southern whites in Chicago to contact with Negroes in specific work situations and their influence upon management policies were analyzed.

The literature pertaining to the effects of southern white workers upon race relations in northern industrial plants suggested that the southern white migrant worker is likely to become an instigator of racial conflict and an agent for the diffusion of 'southern' patterns of Negro-white relations.

The "Hillbillies" as a Group: The southern white workers studied came from the farms and small towns of the South Central states, especially western Tennessee. These people were known as "hillbillies" in the Chicago area. The author's investigations revealed that the non-southern whites regarded these 'hillbillies' as a distinct, cohesive ethnic group, culturally somewhat inferior. Some hostility toward these people was noted, especially among some employers who consciously avoided hiring them. Migration to the north resulted in loss of status for these southern white workers. "The fact that these persons were native-born, white and Protestants lost some of its prestige value in an area such as the Near West Side, with its large population of Italian-Americans." The impersonality and anonymity that characterizes social relations in the city stood in sharp contrast to the friendly intimacy of the small southern towns from which these persons originated. The customary 'laisse-faire' attitude of the city folks was interpreted by the 'hillbillies' as evidence of hostility and resulted in the development of strong defensive group consciousness. This defensive group consciousness, however, did not take the form of a formal in-group organization. Rather, it found expression in the southerners' attitude; Chicago was a place to 'make a living'. "Visits to the South were frequent and many families periodically returned to their old homes to live for a year or two. This instability and mobility, more than anything else, caused the 'hillbillies' to be regarded by employers as a marginal group of laborers, conveniently available when there was a shortage of other labor, but undesirable members of a cadre of permanent workers."

Effect on Management Policies: The marginal position of the southern white worker in the Chicago industrial setting had only an indirect and minor effect on the policies of management. Among the fourteen plants which employed southern white workers, in four the Negroes and southern whites worked side-by-side on machines and assembly lines. "Not only did the southern whites in these plants work with Negroes, but they shared the same rest rooms and dressing rooms." Three of these factories were small, employing 55, 110 and 225 workers. The proportion of southern whites at these plants ranged from approximately 10 to 15 per cent. The fourth plant, in addition to Negroes and southern whites, employed Mexicans and a variety of workers of foreign extractions. Although the personnel manager at this plant regarded the 'hillbillies' as undesirable workers because of their mobility habits, the plant was regarded by the southerners as a good place to work. The personnel manager felt that the firm stand taken by management facilitated the integration of Negroes into the work force. He stated:

> Having southern white workers hasn't affected our policy at all. When they apply for a job we tell them, 'We have Negro workers and they're good workers. If you don't want to work with them, you'd better not take the job.' Very few decide that they won't take it. Occasionally we may have complaints about friction with the Negroes, but they may come from northern workers as well as from southern.

At the other ten plants which employed southern whites, few Negroes, if any, were hired. Thus, there was evidence for the fact that southern whites who wished to enjoy self-segregation in the context of work, had the opportunity to do so without having to spread the 'southern racist ideas'. "In all ten plants the policy of excluding Negroes existed before the management became aware of the presence of the 'hillbillies', and in only one plant was it even suggested that the presence of the southern whites was a deterrent to changes in the policy." The personnel managers of these plants did not give the fear of 'trouble' from southern whites as their reason for not hiring Negroes. Instead, they cited very much the same reasons that Haas and Fleming reported to be 'most common' as justification for non-employment: "Negroes never applied; whites and black can't mix on the same job; haven't time or money to build separate toilets; no trained Negroes are available; they are racially unequipped for skilled work; the union won't have them; don't like Negroes and don't want them around; this is a rush job and we haven't time for experiments." ("Personnel Practices and Wartime Changes," The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. CCXLIV (1946), p. 53.)

The research revealed that three of the plants which employed a large number of southern white migrants "had opened their doors to 'hillbilly labor' during a period when the supply of local labor was curtailed." The southern white labor supply constituted an alternative to Negro workers as replacement, and an addition to the working force. One of these plants hired a great number of such 'hillbillies' as replacement for its Polish and Italian workers when the latter groups were called into the service or were attracted to more lucrative jobs.

The Reaction of Migrants: The interview data with the 140 southern white workers corroborated the conclusion that "southern whites were able to make peaceful accommodation to the norms of the new situation." From the 140 workers, 59 were working or had been working with Negroes; 81 had never worked with Negroes. Of the 81 who never worked with Negroes on the job only 12 stated that they had deliberately avoided plants which hired Negroes as well.

Conclusions: The southern white workers studied were found to have little effect in deterring employers from hiring Negroes. Their principal contribution to Chicago industry was to furnish an alternate labor pool for employers who desired to continue an existing descriminatory policy against the Negro. When confronted with a firm policy of non-discrimination in the work setting, the southern white workers tended to accept the situation and worked side-by-side with the Negroes. This situation, however, did not indicate a radical change in the racial attitudes of the southern whites; rather it was an accommodation to the exigencies of a specific situation. However, the prevalence of policies of exclusion of Negroes in some Chicago plants made such accommodations unnecessary for many of the hillbillies, if they wished to avoid the situation.

Implications for Counseling:

Vocational counselors will be increasingly concerned with occupational maladjustment stemming from or attributed to interracial conflict. This may be expected from both Negro and White clients. Objective studies such as this are of great value as background for appraising individual difficulties.

In some instances problems which stem from other sources will be blamed on members of the other race.

The counselor is frequently faced with geographical mobility patterns which interfere with the client's long range career pattern. The client, although he may say he is moving to improve his job situation, may actually move to improve his family relationships. At times, the head of the household will change jobs and locality to reside near his own inlaws and finding this unsatisfactory will return to reside near his wife's inlaws. The strength of familial ties for many of the working class population is greater than their attachment to a career pattern.

Scope: Occupational Field

Methodology:

"In this research, 150 southern white migrants were interviewed and the actual behavior of these and many other southern whites were observed. Non-southerners and Negroes who were part of the social world of the migrants, including plant managers, foremen, policemen, teachers, bartenders, and other workers, were also interviewed."

Cautions:

Findings of this study were based on data gathered only in one locale, Chicago, at one particular time. It may be that attitudes of employers and those of migrant workers vary from one locale to another, depending upon the fluctuations in the demand and supply of labor. There have been marked changes in interracial relationships as a result of the Civil Rights movement during the past decade.

Theoretical Orientation:

Previous studies concerning the effects of southern white workers on race relations in northern industrial plants suggest that the southern white migrant worker is both an instigator of racial conflict and an agent for the diffusion of 'southern' patterns of Negro-white relations. It is the author's contention that "the relationships of the southern whites to Negroes in the plants, and their effects on the policies of management, must be viewed in the context of the position of the so-called 'hillbillies' /southern whites/ themselves in the community and industry."

ABSTRACT

Steele, H., "Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies," Social Forces, Vol. XXXII (December, 1953), pp. 152-162.

Description:

The traditional Negro inequality, in terms of economic opportunity, is in the process of change. Several factors are responsible for this change:

1. It is now generally recognized that discrimination fosters the development of slums, which brings about inefficiency, waste, poor health, low moral standards, and excessive rates of dependency and delinquency.

2. The current fear of communism called attention to the welfare of Negroes. It is believed that advances in the direction of equal economic opportunities may prevent Negroes from becoming radicals in their attempt to improve their conditions. Fair treatment of the Negro would deprive the communists of an effective propaganda weapon.

3. The increasing Negro birth rate, their improvement in health, the decreasing death rate, all intensify the Negroes' demand for jobs. According to population estimates, in the future "there will be a 'shortage' of white, and a 'relative' surplus of nonwhite additions to the national labor force."

4. Negroes are moving steadily from the rural areas of the South into the urban regions of the South, West, and Northeast. They are concentrating even more than whites in the large cities, where they seek jobs in industry.

5. Finally, the increasing Negro self-consciousness constitutes an important force which demands change. Wartime training and the continued improvement of education among Negroes increased their capabilities and self-confidence.

In the North, customs and beliefs permit fuller participation of the Negro in the labor force. In the South, emerging new industries create jobs which are open for both whites and Negroes.

In the framework of these developments, this study compares the economic opportunities afforded to Negroes in nine northern and southern divisions of three different types of industries (small metal, rubber, and public utility). Specifically, the study investigates whether or not Negroes are actually offered broader opportunities in the northern branches of a national firm than in the southern branch; what types of jobs Negroes hold in each region; their salaries; and "what have been the companies' experiences with them as workers."

Conclusions: The case studies confirmed the widely held beliefs that northern firms offer the Negro a greater variety of job opportunity than southern firms. In both regions, however, the Negroes concentrated in the less desirable, lower paying jobs. Whites and Negroes only rarely "mix" on the same job in the South, but such mixing is common in the North.

National firms conform to local practices in their personnel policies. They often hire a local man as personnel manager. The CIO unions at the firms studied appeared to be more favorable in their attitudes toward Negroes than were the AFL craft unions. Even in the CIO unions, however, there seemed to exist a gap between official policy and local practices, as far as discrimination was concerned.

According to the data, certain factors tended to favor Negro advancement. In the North, Negroes apparently were making progress toward job equality, with some gains even in the salaried positions. "With close selection of 'pioneer' Negroes, careful preparation of supervisors and fellow employees, and cooperation from the union, northern firms can gradually introduce Negroes into new positions." The evidence also indicated that younger people, who have been exposed to Negroes in schools or elsewhere, adjust quite easily to work with Negroes, at least during the period of "full employment." This type of previous contact on the basis of equality seemed to be absent in the South.

A "softening" of attitude among southern employers and the general public in favor of the Negro was indicated in the data. One utility company representative expressed his intention of making greater use of Negro workers. All the southern representatives interviewed reported that they gave Negroes "equality of treatment" on "policy matters," such as vacations, service awards, and the like.

Implications for Counseling:

Although dated by the "revolution" in Negro-white relations of the past decade, this study is still of value in that there is so little empirical data available in this area. It also is useful as a milestone by which to measure more recent and more sweeping changes in equality of opportunity.

There is a possibility that it may be used directly with Negro counselees as some objective evidence by which they may estimate occupational opportunities. The too frequent conflict between white counselors and Negro counselees, each with different and subjective views of the occupational opportunities for Negroes, may be mitigated by reference to this objective data.

Scope: Industrial workers

Methodology:

Information was gathered from company records and interviews with management personnel.

Cautions:

The companies contacted for this study were not selected from those industries which generally employ Negroes. Although the findings of the study are based on statistical data, the mere existence of the trend in these industries, as demonstrated by the data, is of significance.

Theoretical Orientation:

The traditional notion of Negro inequality in terms of economic opportunity provided the point of departure in discussing recent changes in job opportunities for Negroes.

ABSTRACT D.O.T. Code: UNCLASSIFIED

Wilson, Logan, and Gilmore, Harland. "White Employers and Negro Workers," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VIII, No. 6 (December, 1943),* pp. 698-705.

Description:

This study investigated the employment pattern of Negroes and surveyed the employers' experiences with Negro workers in New Orleans in the year 1943.

According to census data, 32.59 percent of the 177,312 persons employed in New Orleans as of March, 1940, were Negroes. Approximately 68% of all Negro women employees in the city were working in domestic service. A great number of Negro men were employed as gardeners, etc. These groups were not included in the sample of workers studied.

Findings:

I. Employment Patterns:

(1) Most of the employers tended to use exclusively Negroes for certain jobs such as laborers, truck drivers, porters, helpers, warehousemen, sweepers, utility men, delivery men, truck laborers, pressers, cleaners, dishwashers, packers, cooks, maids, chauffeurs, janitors, elevator operators, tire changers, and hospital attendants for colored patients. It was quite clear the Negroes were employed exclusively in the unskilled jobs.

(2) Where the same jobs were performed by both whites and Negroes, the jobs were of the unskilled and/or semi-skilled variety. In construction trades, the Negroes were employed as helpers, carpenters, bricklayers, mechanic's helpers and common laborers. In manufacturing, they worked as canvas workers, porters, truck drivers, sorters, spinners and corders, sprayers, delivery men, cutters and pressers, packers, and painters. Both races were found working as shop laborers, car repairmen, stewards, and longshoremen in the transportation industries. In the wholesale and retail trades, the whites and Negroes were both employed as warehousemen, messengers, elevator operators, porters, and truck drivers; in the government, as clerks and carriers (post office), and common laborers.

The manufacturing and wholesale and retail trades were found to be now employing Negroes in increasingly greater numbers in comparison to the 1939 employment rate. Of the employers sampled, 15.4% who had not employed Negroes in 1939 reported employing them now. Of the concerns studied, 5.1% reported that they anticipated using Negroes in their work force. Only 16 out of 175 firms reported employing Negroes temporarily as a result of the shortage of white workers.

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*Because of the current importance of this topic, this article has been abstracted despite the time which has expired since its publication and the many changes which have occurred in the utilization of Negroes in the labor force.

II. Experience and Opinion of Employers:

Only 10.8% of the companies studied have found Negroes as a group performing unsatisfactorily. The Negroes failed mostly in skilled jobs where they were handicapped by their lack of training and general ignorance. Twenty percent of the sample considered the Negroes better than whites when employed as truck drivers, porters, manual laborers, etc. Twelve out of 175 firms were found practicing no segregation at all in their hiring policies. One hundred thirty-five employers used the pattern of employment of the races at different types of jobs within the organization as a practical form of segregation.

In contrast to white workers, the Negroes were considered superior in their ability to stand heat and in their capacity for heavy manual labor. Many employers tended to withhold their opinion concerning specific traits of the Negro workers and stated that no noticeable differences existed in terms of race. Those who did contribute information thought white workers rated superior to Negroes in their ability to learn new jobs, in speed of work, initiative, and general dependability.

Although some employers indicated that they treat their Negro and white employees equally, most firms acknowledged the existence of policy differences with respect to hiring and promotion of Negroes. The vast majority of the firms studied indicated that they hire Negroes only for unskilled or semi-skilled jobs where there is little opportunity for advancement in pay, and/or promotion in responsibility.

In 10.8% of the sample, the employers made an exception of the Negro worker. Because of special circumstances, he was treated as an individual rather than labelled in advance as a member of a minority group who is to be treated according to set limitations, regardless of personal competence.

Approximately one-fourth of the firms surveyed offered advice on employment policy with respect to Negroes. The statements these firms made varied considerably. The general opinion, however, recommended the establishment of a differential policy with respect to hiring and personnel relations. Opinions as to how the racial problems among the workers should be solved indicated variance in the employers' attitudes toward the Negro. In contrast to the policy of segregation suggested by some firms, others recommended the general improvement of the Negro in the community, and the development of more tolerance and understanding among the whites.

Implications for Counseling:

A specific enumeration of the jobs in which Negroes find employment is of great use in vocational counseling. It enables both the counselor and the Negro counselee to objectively evaluate the differential opportunities available to the Negro.

The Negro counselee should not regard the contents of such an enumeration as the only opportunities which will be open to him, but only as a realistic measure of the current situation. The study reported is out-of-date, but the general principle seems sufficiently important to bring to the attention of counselors.

Scope: Occupational Fields

Methodology:

"The data presented have been obtained from 175 firms employing a total of 44,740 persons, 8,306 of whom are Negroes." The information on the Negro as a worker was secured through personal interviews with personnel managers, owners, or other responsible persons in the organizations. A questionnaire was completed at the time of the interview.

Cautions:

Generalizations in this research apply to conditions existing at the time of the study; the study was undertaken to examine the shifts in employment practices resulting from the shortage of manpower during World War II. Also, it should be noted that the kinds of opportunities in the labor force which are available to Negroes will vary regionally.

Theoretical Orientation:

Manpower needs and government rulings tend to come into conflict with many time-worn attitudes and practices, especially in the South.

TITLE INDEX

TITLE	PAGE NO.
"Are Buyers Happy in Their Jobs?"	111
"Attitudes of 'Progressive' Trade Union Leaders"	133
"Automation: A Clinical Study"	367
"Automation and the Automobile Worker"	271
Automation and the Worker: A Study of Social Change in Power Plants	415
"Automation in the Office: A Sociological Survey of Occupational and Organizational Changes"	399
"'Breaking Out': An Apprentice System Among Pipeline Construction Workers"	321
"The Cabdriver and his Fare: Facets of a Fleeting Relationship"	337
"The Career Business Executive as a Definitive Occupational Type"	373
"The Career Experience of the Symphony Musician"	97
"The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher"	65
"Career Patterns and Role Problems of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline"	159
"Career Patterns of Teachers in Negro Colleges"	61
"The Clergyman and the Funeral Director: Study in Role Conflict"	77
"Client Control and Medical Practice"	31
"The Commercial Artist: A Study in Role Conflict and Career Development"	87
"Conflicting Organizational Patterns in Funeral Directing"	147
"Continuity in City-Manager Careers"	151
"Correlates of Success in Retail Selling"	195
"The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation"	241

TITLE	PAGE NO.
"Crime and Punishment in the Factory: the Function of Deviancy in Maintaining the Social System"	409
"A Digest of Some Characteristics of Occupational Choice and Adjustment in a Sample of New York City Taxi Drivers"	345
"Domestic Service and the Negro"	211
"The Druggists' Dilemma: Problems of a Marginal Occupation"	41
"Economic Deprivation and Social Participation in a Group of 'Middle Class' Factory Workers"	277
"The Effects of Southern White Workers on Race Relations in Northern Plants"	429
"Executives and Supervisors: Contrasting Self-Conceptions and Conceptions of Each Other"	371
"An Exploratory Survey of Occupational Therapy"	57
"The Extra-Professional Role of the Lawyer"	73
"The Hosiery Looper in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Family Occupational Processes and Adaptation to Factory and Community Change"	289
"The Housemaid: An Occupational Role in Crisis"	207
Human Relations in the Restaurant Industry	215
"The Impact of Rapid Discovery upon the Scientist's Career"	379
"In the Courts of Power--The Advertising Man"	121
"Industrial Relocation of Displaced Male Factory Workers: Some Sociological Implications"	283
"Informal Factors in Career Achievement"	129
"Interpersonal Relations in the Building Industry"	307
"Janitors Versus Tenants: A Status-Income Dilemma"	265
"Jobs for Negroes: Some North-South Plant Studies"	433

TITLE	PAGE NO.
"The Life Insurance Agent: An Occupational Study"	175
"The Life Insurance Man: A Sociological Analysis of the Occupation"	185
"Male Nurses: A Case Study in Status Contradiction and Prestige Loss"	49
The Man on the Assembly Line	279
"Marginal Men of Industry: The Foremen"	405
"The Marine Radioman's Struggle for Status"	155
"The Master Plumber in Detroit: A Study in Role Adjustment and Structural Adaptation in a Handicraft Occupation Undergoing Technological Change"	313
"Meanings of Work and Attitudes Toward Retirement Among Steelworkers"	417
"The Metropolitan Taxi Driver: His Work and Self-Conception"	351
"The Negro Miner in West Virginia"	359
"The Negro Union Official: A Study of Sponsorship and Control"	141
"Occupational Contact Networks"	377
"The Occupational Culture of the Boxer"	105
"Occupational Role Strains: The American Elective Public Official"	385
"On the Margin-- The Engineering Technician"	17
"Organization Practice and Individual Behavior: Absenteeism Among Psychiatric Aides"	227
"The Paradox in Nursing"	47
"The Pentecostal Minister: Role Conflicts and Status Contradictions"	79
"Policeman as Philosopher, Guide and Friend"	255

TITLE	PAGE NO.
"The Professional Dance Musician and his Audience"	93
"The Professional Employee: A Study of Conflict in Nursing Roles"	45
"Professionalization: Its Functions and Dysfunctions for the Life Insurance Occupation"	189
"The Psychiatric Aide"	231
"Real Estate Salesmen: The Study of a Sales Occupation"	191
"The Reduction of Strain in a Marginal Social Role"	53
"Role Accommodations: A Study of Nurses and Attendants in a Mental Hospital"	221
"A Role Analysis of the Insurance Agent in the Community"	181
"Role Conflict in Rehabilitation Counseling"	25
"Role Performance and Role Distance in a Low Status Occupation: The Puller"	203
"Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers"	425
"The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behavior in a Total Institution"	259
"Salesmen in Conflict: A Challenge to Marketing"	125
"Social Attitudes of the Prison Warden"	145
"The Social Base of Sales Behavior"	199
"The Social Characteristics of Entertainers"	91
"Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis"	83
"Social Groupings of Railroad Employees"	329
"The Social Role of the Salesman"	171
"The Social Role of the Shop Steward: A Study in Expectations"	137
"The Socialization of the Artist: The American Composer"	101

TITLE	PAGE NO.
"Some Aspects of the Job of Prison Guard"	237
"Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers"	301
Source Book of a Study of Occupational Values and the Image of the Federal Service	391
"The Stages of a Medical Career"	35
"Status Orientations among Shipyard Workers"	413
"Status Values among Railroadmen"	333
"Taming the Lumberjack"	363
"The Taxicab Driver"	341
"Telephone Workers"	421
"Of Time and the Railroader"	325
"Of Time, the City, and the 'One-Year Guaranty': The Relations Between Watch Owners and Repairers"	297
"The Tradition of Opportunity and the Aspirations of Automobile Workers"	269
"The Urban Fire Station: A Sociological Analysis of an Occupation"	245
"The Values of Laboratory Workers: A Study of Occupational Aspirations"	21
"Violence and the Police"	251
"The 'Vo-Ag' Teacher: An Inquiry into the Status and Role of an Emergent Profession"	69
"White-Collar Woman: The Secretarial-Stenographic Occupation"	163
"White Employers and Negro Workers"	435
"Work Behavior in a Service Industry"	167
"Work Careers and Aspirations of Automobile Workers"	275
"Work-Flow Frictions, Interfunctional Rivalry and Professionalism: A Case Study of Purchasing Agents"	115

AUTHOR INDEX

AUTHOR PAGE NO.

A
Adams, Fred Thomas 221
Angreist, Shirley S. Bloomst 191
Archibald, Katherine 413
Arond, Henry 105
Aubert, Vilhelm 207

B
Becker, Howard S. 65, 93
Bensman, Joseph 409
Berkowitz, Norman H. 47
Boggs, Stephen T. 21
Breed, Warren 83
Bryant, Clifton D. 163
Burtner, Frank A. 69
Buskey, Janet M. 57

C
Chaplin, David 211
Chinoy, Ely 269
Coates, Charles H. 371
Corwin, Ronald G. 45
Cottrell, W. Fred 325, 329
Cumming, Elaine 255
Cumming, Ian 255

D
Dalton, Melville 129
Davis, Fred 337
Dennison, J. Nash 101
Denton, Alfred M., Jr. 301

E
Edell, Laura 255
Emmert, Frederick 167
Evan, William M. 17

F
Faunce, W. A. 271
Floro, George K. 151
Freidson, Eliot 31
French, Cecil L. 195
Fulton, Robert L. 77

G
Gerver, Israel 409
Gilmore, Harland 435

AUTHOR	PAGE NO.
Gold, Ray	265
Goldstein, David H., M.D.	367
Gouldner, Alvin W.	133
Graves, Bennie	321
Griff, Mason	87
Guest, Robert H.	275, 279
H	
Habenstein, Robert	147
Hall, Oswald	35
Harper, Dean	167
Hayner, H.S.	363
Hoffman, Richard L.	415
Hoos, Ida R.	399
Hubbard, Harold G.	373
Hudson, Ruth Alice	137
Huganir, George H., Jr.	289
Hulsart, C. Raymond	367
J	
Johnson, Bob	25
Jonassohn, Kurt	175
K	
Katz, Fred E.	377
Kemp, Linda J.	111
Killian, Lewis M.	429
Kilpatrick, Franklin P.	391
Klein, Malcolm W.	47
Kornhouser, William	141
Krugman, Herbert E.	125
L	
Laing, J.T.	359
Lalli, Michael	283
Lebeaux, Charles N.	425
Levitin, T.E.	203
Lewis, Ian	121
Lundberg, Donald E.	237
M	
McCormack, Thelma Herman	41
Malone, Mary	47
Mann, Floyd C.	415
Matthews, Thomas James	245
Melbin, Murray	227
Miles, Herbert J.	341
Miller, Stephen J.	199
Mitchell, William C.	385

AUTHOR PAGE NO.

Morris, Charles N. 345
Moss, Leonard W. 313
Myers, Richard R. 307

P
Pellegrin, Roland J. 189, 371
Pope, Hallowell 277

R
Rachman, David J. 111
Record, Jane Cassels 155
Reif, Fred 379
Rodnick, David 333
Roucek, Joseph S. 145
Rubington, Erwin 231

S
Schwartz, Albert M. 181
Segal, Bernard E. 49
Seidman, Joel 421
Silverman, Leslie J. 171
Singleton, James W. 417
Sjoberg, Gideon 91
Steele, H. 433
Strauss, George 115
Strodtbeck, Fred L. 297
Sussman, Marvin B. 297
Sykes, Gresham M. 241

T
Taylor, Miller Lee 185, 189
Thompson, Daniel C. 61

V
Vaz, Edmund W. 351

W
Wager, Leonard W. 159
Walker, Charles R. 279
Wardwell, Walter I. 53, 73
Weinberg, S. Kirson 105
Westby, David L. 97
Westley, William A. 251
Whyte, William Foote 215
Wilhelm, Sidney 91
Wilson, Bryan R. 79
Wilson, Logan 435
Wood, Arthur L. 73
Wray, Donald E. 405

Z
Zurcher, Louis A., Jr. 259

SUBJECT INDEX

A
Absenteeism
227
Advertising
121
Airline Pilots
159
Apprenticeship System
321
Artist
87, 101
Aspirations
21, 269, 275
Assembly Line
279
Attendants
221
Automation
271, 367, 399, 415
Automobile Worker
269, 271, 275

B
Boxer
105
Building Industry
307
Business Executive
373
Buyers
111

C
Cabdriver
337, 341, 345, 351
City-Manager
151
Clergyman
77
Colleges
61
Commercial Artist
87
Composer
101
Construction Workers
301
Contact Networks
377

D
Dance Musician
93
Deviancy
409
Domestic Service
211
Druggist
41

E
Elective Public Official
385
Employers
435
Engineering Technician
17
Entertainer
91
Executive
371, 373

F
Factory Workers
277, 283, 289, 409, 425
Federal Service
391
Fire Station
245
Foreman
405
Funeral Director
77, 147

G
Guard
237

H
Hosiery Looper
289
Housemaid
207

I
Image
391
Informal Factors
129

SUBJECT INDEX

Insurance Salesman
175, 181, 185, 189

J

Janitors
265

L

Laboratory Worker
21
Lawyer
73
Life Insurance Salesman
175, 185, 189
Lumberjack
363

M

Male Nurses
49
Marginal Men
53, 405
Marginal Occupation
41
Marine Radioman
155
Marketing
125
Master Plumber
313
Medical Career
31, 35
Mental Hospital
221
Metropolitan Taxi Driver
351
Middle Class
277
Migration
301
Miner
359
Minister
79
Musician
93, 97

N

Negro
141, 211, 359, 433, 435
Negro Colleges
61
Negro Miner
359
Negro Union Official
141
Networks
377
Newsroom
83
Nurses
45, 47, 49, 221

O

Occupational Aspiration
21
Occupational Therapy
57
Occupational Values
391
Office
399

P

Pentecostal Minister
79
Pilots
159
Pipeline Construction Workers
321
Plant
429, 433
Plumber
313
Policeman
251, 255
Power Plants
415
Prison Guard
237
Prison Warden
145
Professionalism
115
Professionalization
189
Psychiatric Aide
227, 231
Public Official
385

SUBJECT INDEX

Public Schoolteacher
    65
Puller
    203
Purchasing Agents
    115

R

Race Relations
    429
Radioman
    155
Railroaders
    325, 329, 333
Real Estate
    191
Rehabilitation
    241
Rehabilitation Counseling
    25
Repairers
    297
Restaurant Industry
    215
Retail Selling
    195
Retirement
    417
Role
    25, 69, 137, 171, 181, 203, 207, 259, 313
Role Accommodation
    221
Role Conflict
    25, 77, 79, 87, 159, 385
RoleDistance
    203
Rural
    425

S

Sailor
    259
Salesman
    125, 171, 175, 181, 185, 189, 191, 195, 199
Schoolteacher
    65
Scientist
    379
Secretary
    163
Service Industry
    167
Shipyard Workers
    413
Shop Steward
    137
Social Control
    83
Social Groupings
    329
Socialization
    101
Stages
    35
Status
    49, 69, 79, 155, 203, 265, 333, 413
Steelworkers
    417
Stenographer
    163
Supervisors
    371
Symphony Musician
    97

T

Taxi Drivers
    337, 341, 345, 351
Teachers
    61, 69
Technician
    17
Telephone Worker
    421
Total Institution
    259
Trade Union Leaders
    133

U

Union Official
    141
Urban
    425

SUBJECT INDEX

Urban Fire Station
  245

V

Values
  21, 333, 391
'Vo-Ag' Teacher
  69

W

Warden
  145
West Virginia
  359
White Collar Woman
  163
White Employers
  435
Woman
  163